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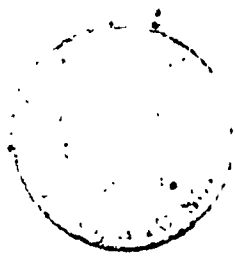

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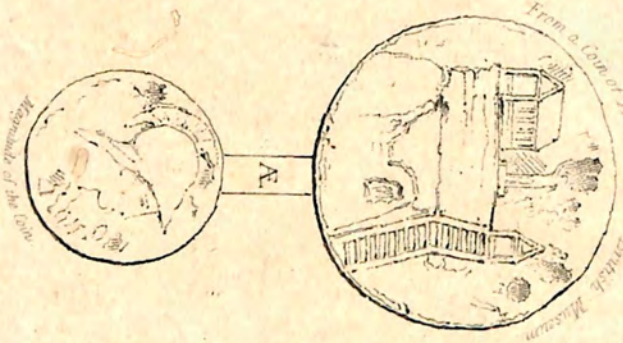
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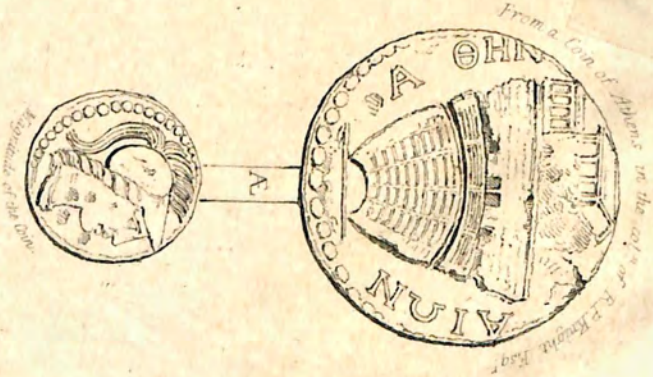
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THE TOPOGRAPHY

OF ATHENS

WITH SOME REMARKS ON ITS

ANTIQUITIES

BY LIEUT.-COL. W. M. LEAKE, R.A.

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ERRATA.

Page xxxii, line 2, *for* Cæsareia Philippi, *read* Cæsareia Stratonis.
lv, line 1, *for* The spirit of tolerance, *read* By the spirit of tolerance.
lxii, note, line 4, *for* the preceding note, *read* a preceding note.
12, line 1, insert in the margin, *Cap.* 11.
12, line 2, insert in the margin, *Cap.* 14.
16, line 11, insert in the margin, *Cap.* 17.
24, line 18, *for* rivers of Athens, *read* rivers of the Athenians.
25, line 21, *for* quarries of Pentelicum, *read* quarry at Pentele.
34, line 14, *for* Ænobius, *read* Œnobius.
84, line 15, *for* Œgaleos, *read* Ægaleos.
117, &c. *for* Pæcile, *read* Pœcile.
145, note 2, *for* See page 16, *read* See page 25.
157, note 1, *for* See page 17, *read* See page 26.
161, note 1, *for* See page 18, *read* See page 27.
169, note 2, line 1, *for* πὴν, *read* τὴν.
192, line 2, *for* 1656, *read* 1676.
266, line 1, *for* ἐπισσάται, *read* ἐπιστάται.
273, note 1, *for* See Section 1, *read* See Introduction, p. xxxvi.
314, *for* Plutarch, &c. *read* Diodorus Cosmographus apud Plutarch, &c.
400, line 7, *for* Panhelleneium, *read* Panhellenium.

*** The reader will find two ancient coins of Athens, referred to in several passages of this volume, as being in the title-page. It has been found necessary, instead of inserting them in the title, to place them upon a separate paper, to face the title.

INTRODUCTION.

AS inquiries into the topography and antiquities of Athens require a frequent reference to the primeval history of the Athenians, and to their mythology, which differed in many respects from that of the rest of Greece, it is intended, in a few preliminary pages, to recall to the reader's recollection those parts of the history of Athens, whether real or fabulous, which are most necessary to the elucidation of its topography and antiquities. The remainder of this Introduction will be devoted to a rapid view of the progressive ruin of ancient Athens, and of those monuments of art, which were its peculiar distinction.

There can be no stronger proof of the early civilization of Athens than the remote period to which its history is carried in a clear and consistent series. We have some reason to believe that Cecrops, an Egyptian, who brought from Sais the worship of Neith (by the Athenians

called Ἀθήνη), was contemporary with Moses. It is probable that, even before that time, the worship of Jupiter had been introduced into Athens from Crete. The rock of the Acropolis, which at that early period contained all the habitations of the Athenians, received from Cecrops the name of Cecropia.

Among the successors of Cecrops, those whose names have been chiefly recorded in Athenian tradition are, 1. Amphictyon, son of Deucalion of Thessaly, who is said to have succeeded to the throne in right of his wife Atthis, daughter of Cranaus, a native Athenian, who succeeded Cecrops. 2. Erechtheus the first, who, by later writers, is called Erichthonius[1]. He set up an image of Minerva, made of olive wood, in the Cecropia, and instituted festivals, called Athenæa, in the Attic cities, which were then twelve in number. Erechtheus was fabled to have been the son of Neptune and of the Earth, to have been educated by Minerva, to have been her assistant in the invention of war-

[1] In reconciling the authorities, relating to the ancient history of Athens, it is a very important preliminary to establish the identity of Erichthonius with Erechtheus the first. For this purpose it is sufficient to compare Homer (Il. β. v. 552.) and Herodotus (l. 8. c. 55.) with Apollodorus, (l. 3. c. 14.) Lucian, (in Philopseud.) Pausanias, (Attic. c. 2. 18.) and Aristides the Sophist, (in Minerv. et in Panathen.)

horses and chariots, and to have been buried in the temple which he had dedicated to her in Cecropia, and which, from the circumstance of his interment in it, was to the latest period called the Erechtheium. 3. Pandion the first. In his reign lived Triptolemus, who was supposed to have been instructed in the arts of agriculture by Ceres, and to have instituted the Eleusinian mysteries. 4. Erechtheus the second. He colonized a part of Eubœa, and defeated Eumolpus, who, with a body of Thracians, had seized Eleusis; but he was slain in the action. The daughters of Erechtheus devoted themselves to death, that their father might obtain success in the Eleusinian war[1]. About the same time the daughters of Leos were sacrificed, to avert a contagious sickness, in obedience to the Delphic oracle, which required human sacrifices upon this occasion[2]. These and similar remains of barbarism appear from Homer to have prevailed among the Greeks as late as the time of the Trojan war. 5. Ægeus, who, after the direct succession had been considerably disturbed by the collateral branches, recovered the throne, and enjoyed a long reign of thirty-

[1] Apollod. l. 3. c. 15.

[2] Aristid. in Panathen. Schol. Thucyd. l. 1. c. 20. Suidas in Λεωκόριον. Ælian. Var. Hist. l. 12. c. 28. Pausan. Attic. c. 5.

nine years. 6. Theseus. In his way to Athens from Trœzen, where he had been living in obscurity, Theseus cleared the country of the robbers who opposed him, and for these brilliant exploits was acknowledged by Ægeus and the Athenians as successor to the throne. He afterwards relieved Athens from a disgraceful tribute to the king of Crete, and, having succeeded to the royal authority, laid the foundation of the early pre-eminence of his country, by founding the Prytaneium, as a court of judicature, common to all Attica, and by establishing the Panathenæa in the Erechtheium, as a sacred festival for the whole province. The immediate consequence of this change, which occurred about the year 1300 B. C., was the decline of the other eleven Attic cities, a concentration of government in Athens, and a great increase of population in Attica, attracted by the security and justice resulting from the new laws of Theseus.

Homer, the earliest of Greek historians, has left us a strong confirmation of the reality of those facts, which are not obviously fabulous, in the history of the two great heroes of ancient Attic story, Erechtheus and Theseus[1]. He

[1] Οἳ δ' ἄρ' Ἀθήνας εἶχον, ἐϋκτίμενον πτολίεθρον
Δῆμον Ἐρεχθῆος μεγαλήτορος, ὃν ποτ' Ἀθήνη .
Θρέψε, Διὸς θυγάτηρ, τέκε δὲ ζείδωρος Ἄρουρα,
Κὰδδ' ἐν Ἀθήνῃς εἷσεν, ἑῷ ἐνὶ πίονι νηῷ·

notices the temple of Erechtheus, and those periodical sacrifices of an ox and a sheep, which we know to have been performed to a very late period of Athenian superstition[1]; and with respect to the political changes of Theseus, instead of naming all the cities of Attica, as he has done in the other provinces of Greece, he speaks of Athens alone, and of the people of Erechtheus, that terrible Δῆμος, whose first specimen of tyranny and ingratitude was the banishment of their great benefactor himself, whom they left to die an exile in the island of Scyrus. Theseus introduced the worship of Venus and Peitho[2]: that of Apollo Delphinius he appears to have found already established[3].

During the six or seven centuries which elapsed between the Trojan war, and the reign of Pisistratus, the Athenians seem to have

Ἐνθάδε μιν ταύροισι καὶ ἀρνειοῖς ἱλάονται
Κοῦροι Ἀθηναίων, περιτελλομένων ἐνιαυτῶν·
Il. B. v. 546.

Another allusion to the Erechtheium occurs in the Odyssey, H. v. 78.

.....ἀπέβη γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη
* * * * * * * * * * *
Ἵκετο δ' ἐς Μαραθῶνα καὶ εὐρυάγυιαν Ἀθήνην
Δῦνε δ' Ἐρεχθῆος πυκινὸν δόμον....

[1] Philochorus et Staphylus ap. Harpocrat. in Ἐπίξυιον.

[2] Pausan. Attic. c. 22.

[3] Pausan. Attic. c. 19.

been not more engaged in foreign wars or internal commotions than was sufficient to maintain their martial spirit and free government, both of which were essential to the progress made by them in civilization, commerce, and a successful cultivation of the arts. The change of chief magistrate from king to decennial, and then to annual archon, indicates that gradual increase of popular authority, which ended in a purely democratical government. Solon, apparently aware of the evils to which these changes tended, endeavoured to correct them by enacting that none but men of a certain landed property should be eligible to magistracies; but the restriction was insufficient, or at least came too late. The excess of democratic power led to its usual result; and Pisistratus not only usurped all the functions of government to himself, but made them hereditary also in the persons of his two sons, which caused so strong a re-action in favour of democracy, that Cleisthenes, Cimon, and Pericles could only direct affairs by flattering the people, and adding to their privileges. Hence the lowest classes were made eligible to all offices, and were even paid for attending those multitudinous assemblies of the Pnyx and Theatre, which embarrassed all rational business, and threw the fate and character of the country

into the hands of those who might chance to possess the popular favour.

It was in the early part of this interval of time[1], that the Pelasgi, a people of uncertain origin, but who came to Athens from the northward, fortified the Acropolis for the Athenians, and obtained a settlement among them. As the Athenians had already built several temples, it would seem that the superior skill which recommended the Pelasgi to them was chiefly in the branch of military architecture; and it is not improbable that the Greeks were indebted to these people for that polygonal masonry which distinguishes some of their most ancient works of defence[2].

[1] B. C. 1192. Larcher Hist. d'Herod. tome 7.

[2] In this mode of building, the facing of the wall is entirely formed of large blocks of stones, which are for the most part irregular polygons, but which, however varied they may be in magnitude, or the number of their sides, are carefully fitted together without cement. It has been customary to denominate this kind of masonry Cyclopian; but without much propriety; for, from an inspection of the walls of Tiryns, which are cited by Pausanias, as the most remarkable Cyclopian work in Greece, as well as from his description of the structure of those walls, it is evident that they were not formed of artificial polygons, such as I have just described, but of rude masses of rock, the interstices of which were filled up with smaller stones; a mode of building essentially different from the beautiful masonry seen at Athens, (in the Pnyx), at Argos, Ambracia, Æniadæ, and so many other fortresses in Greece.

In the course of the same ages, we may suppose that several of the Athenian temples were founded or renewed upon a more magnificent plan. It was probably about the eighth century before the Christian æra that the Athenians built the Hecatompedum, or great temple of Minerva, in the Acropolis, which was then rendered necessary by the inadequacy of the temple of Minerva Polias to the increased dimensions of Athens, and to the multitudes assembled from every part of Greece, by the growing celebrity of the Panathenaic festival.

The usurpation[1] of the ambitious, but humane, enlightened, and patriotic Pisistratus, far from being an impediment to the prosperity of Athens, operated in aid of its rapid improvement in splendor and civilization, as has often happened when power has fallen into the hands of a person of taste and magnificence. By establishing a public library, and by editing the works of Homer, Pisistratus and his sons fixed the Muses at Athens.

Many fine examples of polygonal masonry are also found in Italy, in the ruins of some of the cities, which flourished in independence before the preponderance of Rome, and where this mode of building seems to have been introduced by the Pelasgi, or by whatever other Grecian people the Latins were indebted to for their alphabet, and for the Æolic dialect of the Greek language, which forms the basis of the Latin.

[1] B. C. 561.

They founded the temple of Apollo Pythius[1], and began the building of that of Jupiter Olympius[2]. They greatly advanced the dignity of the republic among the states of Greece, by raising each quinquennial revolution of the Panathenaic festival to a footing of equality with the other great assemblies of Greece; and it was not long after their time that the splendor and riches of Athens, by moving the envy and cupidity of the Persians, became one of the causes of the invasion of Attica, which was defeated at Marathon[3].

Hitherto, however, the progress of the useful and ornamental arts had not been greater at Athens than in many other parts of Greece, as at Sicyon, Corinth, Ægina, Argos, Thebes, and Sparta. Still less was she able to bestow that encouragement upon the arts which they received in the opulent republics of Asia; for, although her territory was more extensive, and her resources already greater than those of any other city of Greece Proper, except Sparta, we are told that, before the invasion of Xerxes, the whole annual revenue of the state did not exceed 130 talents[4].

[1] Thucyd. l. 6. c. 54. Meurs. Pisist. c. 9.

[2] Aristot. Polit. l. 4. c. 11. Vitruv. proem in l. 7.

[3] B. C. 490.

[4] Demosth. Philip. 4. p. 141. Reiske. This sum was equivalent at that period to about 300,000*l.* of our present cur-

It was to an event the most unlikely to produce such a result, that Athens was indebted for a degree of internal beauty and splendor, which no other Grecian city ever attained. The king of Persia, in directing against Greece an expedition of a magnitude unparalleled in the operations of one civilized nation against another, made the capture of Athens his principal object. His success was most fortunate for the Athenians; for, by forcing them to concentrate all their exertions in their fleet, in which they were as superior in numbers to each of the other states of Greece as they were in skill to the Persians, it led to their acquiring the chief honours of having obliged Xerxes to return in disgrace to Persia, accompanied with such a degree of influence in Greece, that even the rivals of Athens were under the necessity of giving up to her the future conduct of the war, now become exclusively naval. By these means the Athenians acquired an unlimited command over the resources of the greater part of the Greek islands, and of the colonies on the coasts of Asia, Macedonia, and Thrace; and thus, at the very moment when the destruction of their city rendered it necessary for them to renew all

rency. For some remarks on the relative value of the Attic talent at different periods, see the additional Note X. at the end of the volume.

their principal buildings, fortune gave them the means of indulging their taste and magnificence to the utmost extent. The same sources of wealth continued to enrich the republic during the fifty years which intervened between the victory of Salamis and the Peloponnesian war; and it was in this short space of time that all the edifices were constructed, which continued to be the chief pride and ornament of Attica, until barbarism resumed its reign in Greece.

If we follow literally the evidence of Herodotus[1], we must suppose that, after the retreat of the Persians, the Athenians had again to lay out every street in Athens, and that they had to renew every public building from its foundations. But experience shows that an invader, in the temporary possession of an enemy's capital, seldom has the power and leisure for destruction equal to his will; and that the total annihilation of massy buildings constructed of stone is a work of considerable difficulty[2]. It appears from Pausanias, that there still remained

[1] Herod. l. 9. c. 13.

[2] Among several existing ruins which might be named in proof of this observation, there is none more remarkable than Egyptian Thebes, whose magnificent remains, still bearing the marks of the Persian invaders, show, at the same time, how small a progress had been made in their destruction.

at Athens at a late period several monuments of an age anterior to the Persian war.

The remarks of that traveller, upon the temples of Bacchus and of the Dioscuri, and upon the state of the temples of Juno, in the Phaleric road, and of Ceres at Phalerum, cannot be reconciled with the words of Herodotus, unless we take those words in a sense admitting of considerable latitude and exception. It is probable that the vengeance of the Persians was chiefly directed against the works of defence, and against the most important of the public buildings. We have reason to believe that they destroyed the great temple of Minerva, in the Acropolis, so completely, that Themistocles had no scruples in applying the ruins to the repairing of the walls of the Acropolis, while with regard to the Odeium, Erechtheium, Lenæum, Anaceium, and the temples of Venus, and those of Vulcan and Apollo Pythius, the destruction was confined to the roofs and combustible parts only; so that they were probably left, together with a great number of the smaller fanes and heroa, in such a state, that it was not difficult to restore them.

The new buildings which rose at Athens in the half century of her highest renown and riches may be divided into those erected under the administrations of Themistocles, of Cimon,

and of Pericles. Utility appears to have been the sole object of the first of these great men. The private opulence and liberal disposition of Cimon inspired him with views of magnificence, which were completed by Pericles, at the expense of the tributary states.

The earliest of the buildings of Cimon was the temple of Theseus. The Pœcile, which was adorned with pictures, executed in part by the same artist who painted the Theseium, seems, from this circumstance, to have been nearly of the same date. The Dionysiac theatre, principally intended to furnish a place of representation for the tragedies of Æschylus, was begun about the same period, although it was not finished until long afterwards. The Stoæ, the Gymnasia, and the embellishments of the Academy and of the Agora, which Cimon executed in great part at his own expense, were probably the next in order; and it seems not to have been until after the battle of the Eurymedon[1] that the southern wall of the Acropolis and the Long Walls were built, the expense of these works having been chiefly defrayed out of the Persian spoils[2].

For Pericles was reserved the completion of the military works, which Themistocles had con-

[1] B. C. 470. [2] Plutarch in Cimon.

ceived, and which Cimon had partly executed. He made considerable progress also in the building of the new Erechtheium; he constructed some of the Stoæ of the Cerameicus; and probably repaired several of the temples destroyed by the Persians in various parts of Attica. But his great works were the entire construction, from the foundations, of those magnificent buildings, the mystic temple of Eleusis, the Parthenon, and the Propylæa; in all which we are at a loss whether most to admire the rapidity or the perfection of the execution.

But the meridian of Athenian prosperity was now passed. The Peloponnesian war gave a sudden check to the great designs of Pericles. The Lacedæmonians, in hostile invasion, were in sight from the walls of Athens; and during twenty-seven years, the necessities of an army of 32,000 men, and those of a navy of 300 triremes[1], left hardly a drachma disposable for the embellishment of the city.

[1] Meurs. de fortunâ Athenarum, c. 7. Attic. Lect., l. 1. c. 1.

The public revenue of Athens at this time was partly domestic and partly foreign. The former was chiefly derived from maritime commerce, the markets, the μετοικοι, or sojourners, the tribunals, and from the silver mines of Laurium, the profits of which were first applied to the expenses of the navy by Themistocles, in the Æginetic war. The origin of the foreign tribute paid to Athens was the sum

The command of the seas, which had enabled the Athenians to carry on the war with glory for so many years, in despite of the imprudence, inconsistency, and extravagance of

assessed by Aristides, after the retreat of Xerxes, upon the cities which did not send ships to join the Athenians in carrying on the war with Persia. This treasure, which was collected at Delus, was called ὁ ἐπ' Ἀριστείδου φόρος, and amounted annually to 460 talents, (Thucyd. l. 1. c. 96.) It was transferred to Athens, converted into a permanent revenue of the Athenian state, and increased to 600 talents, by Pericles, (Thucyd. l. 2. c. 13.) Alcibiades raised it to 900, (Andocid. adv. Alcib. p. 116. R.) and it was increased in the course of the Peloponnesian war to 1200 or 1300, (Æschin. de fals. leg. p. 337. R.—Plutarch in Aristid.) Aristophanes, who (Vesp. v. 657.) has enumerated the different sources of revenue, estimates the sum total at near 2000 talents; whereas Xenophon states its amount, both foreign and domestic, at 1000 only. It probably did not in any year exceed 1600 or 1800 talents, a sum equivalent at that period to about three millions and a half of our present currency. If such an income should appear inadequate to the support of so large a military establishment as that of Athens, and of which the land forces were often augmented by foreign mercenaries, and often employed upon foreign expeditions, it must be remembered, on the other hand, that the navy was in great part composed of triremes, fitted out at the expense of opulent Athenians, or by the maritime cities tributary to Athens; for the φόρος, or tribute in money, was chiefly supplied by the inland towns. The tributary cities appear from the comic poet, to have amounted in all to no less than a thousand.

Εἰσὶν γὲ πόλεις χίλιαι αἳ νῦν τὸν φόρον ὑμῖν ἀπάγουσι.
Aristoph. Vesp. v. 705.

their government, was at length lost. Their rivals learnt to beat them upon their own element; and the loss of the army in Sicily, together with the defeat of the fleet at Æguspotami, placed Athens at length at the mercy of the Lacedæmonians[1]. The only injury, however, which she suffered in her buildings, was the destruction (probably not very complete) of the Long Walls and walls of Peiræeus; and only ten years had elapsed, when the enemy having in their turn been defeated by Conon at Cnidus, the Athenians resumed their naval superiority in Greece, again commanded the resources of the greater part of the islands and colonies, and once more applied their wealth to the defence or adornment of the city. The Long Walls, and the walls of the maritime city, were re-established in the year after the battle of Cnidus[2]. The work was performed by the Persian fleet, and by the fleet of Conon, then lying in the Athenian harbours, by the Bœotian and Argive troops, then acting as auxiliaries to the Athenians, and by mercenary artificers attracted from every part of Greece by the liberal pay which Conon offered[3].

Athens had soon so far recovered from the

[1] B. C. 404. [2] B. C. 393.

[3] Xenoph. Hell. l. 4. c. 5. Diodor. Sic. l. 4. c. 85. Corn. Nep. in Conon.

effects of the Peloponnesian war, that, when the management of the finances fell into the hands of a prudent and active administration, the resources of the republic were almost as great as they had ever been[1]. The Dionysiac theatre was now completed, a stadium was constructed for the Panathenaic contests, and a Gymnasium was built in the Lyceium. Lycurgus, son of Lycophron, who had the credit of having caused the execution of these works, was not less attentive to the military safety of the republic, than to the ornament of the city. He formed a large magazine of offensive and defensive armour in the Acropolis, built covered docks for the ships of war in Peiræeus, and filled the storehouses with a complete equipment for 400 triremes[2].

[1] Plutarch de X Rhet. in Lycurg. According to a census taken in the year B. C. 377, the whole property of Attica, in lands, houses, and goods, was valued at about 6000 talents, (Polyb. l. 2. c. 62.—Demosth. περὶ συμμορίων, p. 183. R.) the talent being then equivalent to about 1450*l.* sterling, of the present day. An income-tax of ten per cent. upon the annual revenue of this property, would not raise much above 40,000*l.* sterling. The customs produced no more than 30 or 40 talents, (Andocid. de Myst. p. 66. R.) and the mines of Laurium had not improved. The φόρος, therefore, from the tributary cities must still have been the chief branch of Athenian revenue. Under Lycurgus it amounted to 1200 talents; but the talent was now less than half its value in the time of Pericles.

[2] Lycurgus died B. C. 328.

But the time was fast approaching when naval superiority over the republics of Greece, could no longer secure the preponderance, or even ensure the safety of Athens. Her own bright example, and the light of genius and science kindled within her walls, spread around her beyond the bounds of Greece, and produced the effects of order and civilization, among nations which had never entered into the political system of Greece, in the earlier periods of her history. Attica was unfortunately not an island; and as soon as all the natural resources of the fertile and extensive regions of Macedonia were called forth by a strong and enlightened government, the conflicting interests of a collection of republics could not long withstand the highly disciplined armies of a warlike nation, directed by the undivided councils of an active, crafty, and ambitious monarch.

Nothing at this time saved Athens, and the other states of Greece, from becoming dependencies of Macedonia, but the dispersion of the Macedonian power in the distant conquests of Egypt and Asia. The consequences of this dispersion, and of these conquests, totally changed the complexion of Grecian politics. Epirus and Ætolia, relieved from the pressure of Macedonian power, and rising above the disunited and uncivilized state, which had hitherto kept them

in obscurity, now obtained a considerable weight in the Grecian balance of power. The new kingdoms established in the east by the successors of Alexander, soon became members also of the Grecian system; and, by enlarging the boundaries of the language, manners, and civilization of Greece, brought the whole country from Sardinia to Persia within the scope of the Grecian statesman. Instead of confining his attention to a few small republics, acting upon one another, and upon one great foreign power, he had now to watch the motions, learn the interests, and speculate upon the designs of many powerful monarchies, among which Athens, deprived of a great part of her external influence, and soon rivalled, upon her favourite element, even by the republic of Rhodes, could not hope to enter as a power of equal rank, though still able to maintain a high degree of prosperity and political importance.

It was now her wisest course to side with the strongest. Such was the constant aim of the most able and honest of her later statesmen; and it was by means of her alliance with Macedonia, and afterwards with Rome, that she preserved her station during the remaining ages of independent Greece. At no period was Athens more happy and secure than when Demetrius of Phalerum, supported by a Macedonian gar-

rison, administered its affairs[1]. So flourishing was the revenue, that, among many other works undertaken at this time, a dodecastyle portico was added to the mystic temple at Eleusis, by the celebrated Philo; and the same architect was employed to build an arsenal in the Peiræeus, which was considered one of the most wonderful of the Athenian edifices. Twice only after this period did Athens suffer any material injury from hostile attacks. Having joined the Romans, assisted by the naval forces of Attalus, and the Rhodians, against Philip, the Macedonians invested Athens before the Romans could come to her assistance, demolished the groves of the suburban Gymnasia, and destroyed every building in the plain of Athens[2]. In the latter instance, by too readily espousing the cause of Mithridates, when he carried the war into Greece, and thus abandoning the alliance of Rome, she forgot the prudent policy which had been her protection for more than a century, and exposed herself to the vengeance of the most cruel of Roman conquerors[3].

The military importance of Athens expired

[1] Strabo, p. 398. The power of Demetrius, which lasted twelve years, ended in 307 B. C.

[2] B. C. 200. Liv. Hist. l. 31. c. 24, 26.

[3] B. C. 86.

at once with the destruction of the Peiraic fortifications by Sylla. Accumulation of capital, the attachment of commerce to an accustomed route, and commercial security, which increased as the Roman power became established by land and sea, may have still maintained a considerable degree of opulence in Athens; but her gradual downfall as a maritime state was inevitable: and, in less than a century after the siege by Sylla, the Athenian navy was almost extinct, little remained either of the Peiraic or Long Walls, and the maritime city was reduced to a cluster of habitations round each of the ports[1].

But the respect which the arms or political influence of Athens could no longer command, was still paid to the recollection of her former glory; to her having been, from the æra of the battle of Marathon, almost the sole depository of the science and literature of Greece; and to her still continuing to be the school in which were found the most skilful artists, and the best productions in architecture, sculpture, and painting.

Of the surrounding nations, there was not any in which this feeling had a stronger effect than among the Romans, who, from the period

[1] Strabo, p. 396. Lucan. Pharsal. l. 3. v. 181.

of the conquest of Corinth and Carthage[1], had applied themselves with a rapidly increasing ardour to Grecian arts and literature, and who, from that time, treated Athens with a filial respect and indulgence, which was in a certain degree shown to her even by Sylla himself[2]. Although Julius Cæsar had to pardon the Athenians for their adherence to the adverse party of Pompey, Antony for their having espoused the cause of Brutus and Cassius[3], and Augustus for the favours which they bestowed upon Antony, Athens received distinguished benefits from all these mighty Romans. Julius Cæsar bestowed some donations upon the city, which contributed to the erection of one of the still existing buildings[4]. Antony made Athens his favourite place of residence, during his frequent expeditions into the east; flattered the Athenians, by assuming their manners and mode of life; and bestowed upon them the islands of

[1] Corinth and Carthage were taken and destroyed in the same year, B. C. 146. 102 years afterwards, or B. C. 44, they were both restored and colonized by Julius Cæsar, (Appian. in R. Pun. ad fin.)

[2] Strabo, p. 398. Appian. Mithrid. c. 38, 39. Plutarch. in Sylla.

[3] The Athenians erected the statues of Brutus and Cassius, by the side of those of Harmodius and Aristogeiton, in the Cerameicus. Dion. Cass. l. 47. c. 20.

[4] The Propylæum of the new Agora. See the inscriptions upon this monument in Stuart's Ant. of Ath. vol. 1. c. 1.

Ægina, Cea, Icus, Sciathus, and Peparethus[1]. Augustus indeed showed some degree of resentment towards the Athenians for their attachment to his rival, and deprived them of one of the islands, (Ægina) which they had received from Antony[2], as well as of Eretria in Eubœa; but his clemency and favourable inclinations towards them are sufficiently indicated, by his leaving them in possession of all the other gifts of Antony; by the pecuniary donations, which, added to those given by Cæsar, enabled the Athenians to erect the Propylæum of the new Agora; and even by the edict forbidding their sale of the right of citizenship, by which he showed a respect for their ancient name, which they no longer entertained themselves.[c]

We are informed that, a short time before his death, Augustus was called upon to quell a revolt of the Athenians; but it appears to have been a mere local tumult, which was suppressed as soon as it broke out[3], and it has not even been noticed by the principal historians of the life of Augustus. We can hardly doubt, from the testimony of Strabo, that, from the time of Sylla, Athens continued to enjoy its own laws,

[1] Appian. de Bel. Civ. l. 5. c. 7.

[2] Dion. Cass. l. 54. c. 7.

[3] Ἀθηναῖοι στασιάζειν ἀρξάμενοι κολασθέντες ἐπαύσαντο. Euseb. in Chron. Oros. l. 6. c. 22.

and the respect of the Romans; or that Augustus, in whose time Strabo lived, generally treated the Athenians with lenity and favour[1]. He did not disdain the honour of initiation into the Eleusinian mysteries[2]; and there are several other proofs in the remaining monuments of Athens, of the friendly connexion which subsisted between him and the Athenians.

Germanicus testified his respect to the Athenians, by entering the city without the insignia of his rank, and preceded by a single lictor[3].

Vespasian and Domitian, being disgusted with the philosophers at Rome[4], seem to have been adverse to the Athenian schools which produced them; but there is no reason to think that Athens received any ill treatment from these two emperors. As the succession of archons was unbroken until the reign of Gallienus, no change appears to have been made by Vespasian when he made Greece a Roman province[5], beyond that of confirming the authority of the Roman proconsul over the city, than

[1] Σύλλας ..... τῇ πόλει συγγνώμην ἔνειμε καὶ μεχρὶ νῦν ἐν ἐλευθερίᾳ τέ ἐστι καὶ τιμῇ παρὰ τοῖς Ρωμαίοις. Strabo, p. 398.

[2] Sueton. in Aug.

[3] Tacit. Annal. l. 2. c. 53.

[4] Dion. Cass. l. 66. c. 13.—l. 67. c. 13.

[5] Sueton. in Vespas. c. 8. Eutrop. l. 7. c. 19. Oros. l. 7. c. 9. Pausan. Achaic. c. 17.

which nothing could be more conducive to its advantage; for it is probably to a similar control over the democracy of Athens, that we may ascribe the general tranquillity which the city enjoyed, during the prevalence of the Macedonian and Roman power in Greece.

Hadrian and Alexander Severus both visited Athens, while they were yet in a private station. The former was Archon Eponymus, and both were initiated in the Eleusinian mysteries, as was likewise the emperor Marcus Aurelius, at the time of his visit to Athens, after the Marcomannic war[1].

From the accession of Nerva, Athens continued for near a century and a half to enjoy, not only the protection, but the peculiar favour of a succession of several Roman emperors.

No other city ever enjoyed her fortune in the prosperity which attended her so long after the loss of her political importance. Even the respect which has been paid to Rome, since the decline of her temporal power, is but a feeble representation of that enjoyed by Athens during five centuries, among all the nations into which Grecian civilization had penetrated. We cannot have a stronger proof of this fact than

[1] Dion. Cass. l. 69. c. 16. Philost. in Hadrian. Hist. August. in Sever. Ead. in Marc.

that the most remarkable buildings erected in Athens after the decline of her naval power, were executed at the expense of foreign potentates.

The first example of this generosity occurred when Ptolemy Philadelphus constructed a magnificent gymnasium near the temple of Theseus[1].

When the Athenians entered into alliance with the Romans and Attalus[2] the first, king of Pergamus, the latter presented some magnificent dedications in the Acropolis[3] of Athens, and the Athenians testified their gratitude, to Attalus and to Ptolemy, by creating two new tribes, with the names of Attalis and Ptolemais[4].

Not many years afterwards, Antiochus Epiphanes undertook a work which the Athenians, in the height of their power, had been unable to accomplish; and which, when completed,

[1] About 275 B. C.

[2] Polyb. l. 16. c. 25. Liv. l. 31. c. 14.

[3] Pausan. Attic. 25. These were four statuary compositions, placed upon the southern wall of the Acropolis towards its eastern end. The subjects of three were complimentary to the ancient glory of the Athenians. The fourth recorded the action from which Attalus himself derived his greatest fame, namely the defeat of the Gauls in Mysia, by which they were driven into the part of Phrygia, which they ever afterwards occupied, under the name of Galatia. Liv. l. 38. Pausan. Attic. c. 8.

[4] Pausan. Attic. c. 5, 8.

exceeded in magnitude and costliness all their other buildings. This was the temple of Jupiter Olympius, which Antiochus began to erect upon the foundations laid by Pisistratus 360 years before. After a long interruption at the death of Antiochus, the work was resumed at the joint expense of the kings and states in alliance with Augustus, and was finally completed by the emperor Hadrian.

Very soon after the capture of Athens by Sylla, Ariobarzanes the second, king of Cappadocia, repaired the Odeium of Pericles, which had suffered a partial destruction in the siege. But Hadrian was the greatest of all the regal benefactors of Athens. He not only completed the Olympium, which for so many years had been the despair of the Athenians, but erected buildings of every kind, suited to a place which he wished to render at once the centre of religion, of philosophy, and of polite education. Besides the Olympium and two other temples, he built a Stoa for walking and conversation, a library for study, and a gymnasium for corporeal exercises; and he bestowed upon the Athenians large sums of money, a yearly allowance of corn, and the whole island of Cephallenia[1].

During the ages of which we are now treat-

[1] Pausan. Attic. c. 18. Dion. Cass. l. 69. c. 16.

ing, several opulent individuals also, both Attic and foreign, emulating the Athenian citizens of antiquity, to whom the city had been indebted for many of its minor buildings, made it their glory to adorn Athens with edifices, erected at their private expense. Andronicus Cyrrhestes built a Horologium in the Agora[1]; Agrippa constructed a theatre; and Herodes, son of Atticus, rivalled even the imperial benefactors of Athens, by covering the Stadium with seats of Pentelic marble, and by erecting the theatre, the ruins of which are still seen on the south-west side of the Acropolis.

Rich in the accumulated magnificence of eight or ten centuries, Athens was never so splendid as in the age of the Antonines, when the ancient monuments of the Pericleian age were still in such unimpaired preservation as to rival the recent structures even in this respect. Although the works of Ictinus, Mnesicles, and Phidias, had now been exposed to the attacks of six hundred winters, Plutarch describes them as still possessing all their original freshness; and expresses his wonder that buildings, remarkable for the rapidity with which they had been con-

[1] Now a Tekieh of Turkish Dervishes, but by the Greeks called "The Winds," (στοὺς ἀνέμους) from the figures of the winds represented on the eight faces of the buildings.

structed, should nevertheless have been executed with such perfection, as seemed to have endued them with a perpetual youth[1].

Not many years after Plutarch had thus described the buildings of the age of Pericles, Greece was visited by the traveller to whose writings we are chiefly indebted for a knowledge of the ancient topography of the country, and of all the treasures which it still contained in the various productions of the arts of design. It appears from Pausanias himself, that he was living in the reign of Hadrian[2], and that he travelled in Greece during that of Marcus Aurelius[3]. As he states that the theatre of Atticus Herodes was not begun when he wrote his Attica, and that it was finished when he wrote his Achaica, it may be supposed that he passed several years in Greece. This indeed is sufficiently evident from the minuteness of his remarks on the topography, antiquities, local history, and traditions of every part of the country; for such accurate information could not have been obtained in a transient journey.

[1] Plutarch. in Pericl.

[2] Attic. c. 5. Arcad. c. 9.

[3] When he wrote the section of his work, intituled the Prior Eliacs, (see c. 1.) 217 years had elapsed from the time of the restoration of Corinth by Julius Cæsar. The Prior Eliacs, therefore, were written 173 years after the Christian æra.

Besides visiting Greece, Pausanias had seen a part of Arabia[1]; had visited Egyptian Thebes[2]; and had penetrated to the temple of Jupiter Ammon in Libya[3]. In Judæa[4] he had particularly examined Joppa[5], the Jordan, the lake of Tiberias, and the Dead Sea[6]; and he speaks of the Orontes and Daphne[7], as if he had extended his travels also into that part of Syria. He had travelled through many parts of Asia Minor[8], and had inspected the cities of Ionia and of some of the neighbouring provinces, with no less attention than those of Greece[9]. He had visited Rome[10], and had probably travelled through Epirus[11], Macedonia[12], Thessaly[13], and through the islands of Sicily[14] and Sardinia[15].

In regard to his writings, it appears that he composed a work, which has not reached us,

[1] Bœot. c. 28. [2] Attic. c. 42.
[3] Eliac. prior. c. 15.—Bœot. c. 16.
[4] Eliac. post. c. 24.—Phocic. c. 12.
[5] Messen. c. 35. [6] Eliac. prior. c. 7.
[7] Eliac. post. c. 2.—Arcad. c. 23, 29.
[8] Achaic. c. 17.—Bœot. c. 21.—Phocic. c. 32.
[9] Messen. c. 35.—Achaic. c. 2, 3, 4, 5.—Phocic. c. 12.
[10] Eliac. prior. c. 12.—Arcad. c. 46.—Bœot. c. 21.—Phocic. c. 5.
[11] Attic. c. 17. [12] Eliac. post. c. 5.—Bœot. c. 40.
[13] Attic. c. 13.—Eliac. post. c. 5.—Achaic. c. 27.—Phocic. c. 22.
[14] Eliac. prior. c. 23. [15] Phocic. c. 17.

upon his Syrian travels[1]: that in Greece, he confined his minute researches to those interesting districts, his description of which has fortunately survived the wreck of ancient literature; and that, having made a more superficial journey through the provinces to the north of Mount Œta, he incorporated all his more important remarks upon them in the extant books upon the countries to the southward of that barrier. The insertion, in his Achaica, of his observations upon the cities of Ionia, leaves little or no doubt that such was his process in regard to Asiatic Greece; and as Stephanus of Byzantium frequently refers to the extant books of Pausanias, under the same titles, and in the same order, as we now possess them, and to no other work of our author, except that upon Syria, we have a strong confirmation that these were his only published writings. It has just been shown that we have the testimony of Pausanias himself, as to his having travelled in Syria; and his preference of that country as a subject for his pen, is fully accounted for by Stephanus, from whom we learn that he was a native of Dorus[2], a mari-

[1] Stephan. de Urb. in Γάζβα, Γάζα, Δῶρος, Μαριαμμία, Σελευκόζηλος.

[2] Παυσανίας δὲ ἐν τῇ τῆς πατρίδος αὐτοῦ κτίσει Δωριεῖς αὐτοὺς καλεῖ. Steph. Byz. in Δῶρος.

time city at the foot of Mount Carmel, not far from Cæsareia Philippi.

It is fortunate for us that Strabo and Pausanias were men of very opposite characters, and that they adopted a totally different plan in their travels and writings. Strabo had adorned and strengthened a mind, naturally powerful and philosophical, with all the learning of the age, together with the experience derived from extensive travels[1]. Pausanias was at least equal to Strabo as a traveller; but he was less favoured by nature, both in his personal qualities, and in the time in which he lived. He was infected with all the superstition and credulity of an ardent votary of polytheism, but accompanied with a sincere love of honour and justice, and with a warm admiration of the virtues which had ennobled ancient Greece, not unmixed with a melancholy consciousness that the fabric of his devotion was rapidly falling to ruin. Except in some detached pieces of history, his style is very deficient in method; is full of involved and ambiguous expressions; attempts a conciseness, which is attended with obscurity; largely partakes of the affectation of the sophists of that age, among whom he is supposed to have held a high rank; and, when compared

[1] He informs us, p. 117, that he had visited all the countries from Armenia to Etruria, and from Æthiopia to the Euxine.

with that of Strabo, serves to show how much the written Greek had declined in the century and a half which had elapsed from the time of the one writer to that of the other.

While Strabo, desirous of presenting to his readers a general system of geography, was obliged to trust in great part to the information of others, Pausanias fortunately confined his principal inquiries to one country, and that the most interesting of all. The description of Greece by Strabo is consequently extremely imperfect, when compared with that which Pausanias has left us. Sometimes he passes over the most celebrated regions without any other notice than that of their total ruin and desolation; and speaks of the annihilation of cities, which Pausanias found little impaired by time, and of some of which there still exist considerable remains. As his account of the sea coast is generally more accurate and detailed than that of the inland districts, we are tempted to believe that few parts of the interior were visited by him; but that his travels in Greece were principally performed by sea.

The work of Pausanias, on the contrary, bears undoubted marks of the author having subjected every part of the country to a minute personal examination; and no writer more strongly possesses internal evidences of truth and fidelity.

He often disappoints us by some absurd discussion; in the place of those circumstances which it would have been interesting to know; and he always fatigues by his dry and inanimate manner. To say that it is "worth looking at" is the strongest expression of admiration which he bestows upon the inimitable performances of the great masters of Grecian sculpture; and he passes without the slightest change of style, from the description of some splendid colossus in ivory and gold, the work of a Phidias, or Praxiteles, to that of a group of small figures in clay, or of some ancient statue in wood. But it is precisely this cold conciseness that furnishes the best assurance that he has faithfully described Greece as he found it; and at this distance of time, in the absence of all other authority of the same kind, one cannot but value his work the more, from his having been deficient in that ardour of genius, which often makes travellers the dupes of their own feelings, and leads them to exaggerate and misrepresent. Together with a large portion of history and mythology, of which we should otherwise have been ignorant, Pausanias has preserved for us much important information, and such as none but a diligent traveller could have obtained, upon the history of those arts in which the Greeks have so peculiarly excelled all other

nations. From him alone do we derive an adequate idea of the brilliant genius, profound study, and unrivalled skill, which they applied to the arts of design; of the private economy, and public magnificence, which must have conspired to adorn every small city with so many elegant buildings and works of art; as well as of the immense number of those works, which, in spite of all the calamities to which Greece had been exposed, still adorned the country as late as the latter end of the second century of our æra.

But replete as the work of Pausanias is with information of this kind, it is still too confined to do justice to the fertility of the subject. It unfortunately happened that the author's favourite pursuits were those of an antiquary, mythologist, or devout polytheist, rather than those of a historian or topographer; and that his judgment in matters of art naturally partook of the declining taste of the times in which he lived. His written remarks seem also to have been in many instances modified by prudential considerations, arising from the political circumstances of the times. Such a zealous admirer of the antiquities and mythology of the Greeks could not be otherwise than extremely shocked at the prostitution to vicious or tyrannical Romans, of the divine honours

conferred upon the ancient heroes. "Evil (he obscurely remarks in the Arcadica[1]), has now arrived at such a pitch as to overspread every land and every city, and men are raised to the dignity of gods only by the excess of compliment and flattery." A mixed sentiment of fear and indignation produced upon him the effect of silence or obscurity, and induced him, while he kept his attention steadily fixed upon the works of the best times of Greece, to pass unnoticed her numerous monuments of national degradation.

But it is chiefly in his description of Athens that we have to lament the brevity of Pausanias. Here, besides the confined nature of his work, which obliged him in every part of the country, to confine his narrative to the most remarkable objects[2], he was at once oppressed by the co-

[1] C. 2.

[2] ἀπέκρινε δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν πολλῶν· ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὁ λόγος μοι τὰ ἐς συγγραφὴν ἀνήκοντα. Id. Attic. c. 39.

ὃ δὲ ἐν τῇ συγγραφῇ μοι τῇ Ἀτθίδι ἐπανόρθωμα ἐγένετο, μὴ τὰ πάντα με ἐφεξῆς, ἀλλὰ τὰ μάλιστα ἄξια μνήμης ἐπιλεξάμενον ἀπ' αὐτῶν εἰρηκέναι· δηλώσω δὲ πρὸ τοῦ λόγου τοῦ ἐς Σπαρτιάτας· ἐμοὶ γὰρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἠθέλησεν ὁ λόγος ἀπὸ πολλῶν καὶ οὐκ ἀξίων ἀφηγήσεων, ὧν ἕκαστοι παρά σφισι λέγουσιν, ἀποκρῖναι τὰ ἀξιολογώτατα. Id. Lacon. c. 11.

οὐδὲ ὁπόσων ἐστήκασιν ἀνδριάντες οὐδὲ τούτοις πᾶσιν ἐπέξειμι .... ὁπόσοις δὲ ἢ αὐτοῖς εἶχεν ἐς δόξαν, ἢ τοῖς ἀνδριᾶσιν ὑπῆρχεν ἄμεινον ἑτέρων πεποιῆσθαι, τοσαῦτα καὶ αὐτὸς μνησθήσομαι. Id. Eliac. poster. c. 1.

piousness of the subject, and by the reflection that he was at the beginning of a work which treated of the whole of Greece[1]. When it is considered, moreover, that there existed at that time numerous works, descriptive of Athens[2], we are no longer surprised at the occasional obscurity of his topographical description of the city, or at the brevity with which he has treated of some of its most interesting monuments[3].

Strabo had felt equally oppressed by the magnitude of this part of his subject: he was

[1] In the midst of his description of the Acropolis, he checks himself by saying, Δεῖ δέ με ἀφίκεσθαι τοῦ λόγου πρόσω, πάντα ὁμοίως ἐπεξιόντα τὰ Ἑλληνικά. Pausan. Attic. c. 26.

[2] There were fifteen books upon the Acropolis by Heliodorus (Athen. l. 6. c. 3. Casaub.) and four by Polemo (Strabo, p. 396. Athen. l. 11. c. 6.—l. 13. c. 6.) Harpocration quotes works on Attica or Athens, by Hellanicus, by Istrus, by Callistratus, or Menecles, by Cleidemus, by Staphylus, by Phanodemus in not less than nine books, by Androtion in not less than twelve books, and by Philochorus in not less than sixteen books. Amelesagoras published a dissertation upon Attica, intitled, like the works of several of the preceding authors, ἡ Ἀτθίς, (Antigon. Caryst. Hist. Mirab. c. 12.) and Heliodorus wrote a treatise upon the dedicatory tripods, (Harpocrat. in Ὠνήτωρ.)

[3] Pausanias is particularly brief upon the subject of the Parthenon; but besides the works upon the Acropolis, just mentioned, the treatise upon the construction of that temple by the architect Ictinus himself, and Carpion, mentioned by Vitruvius, (proem. in l. 7.) was probably still extant.

still more brief in proportion as the plan of his work was more comprehensive, and he was satisfied with naming only a few of the principal places and buildings of Athens.

The description given by Pliny of the Grecian pictures and statues collected at Rome in his time, concurs with the work of Pausanias, and with the general tenor of Grecian history, to lead us to believe that Greece Proper suffered less in its works of art, from Roman spoliation, than Sicily and Asiatic Greece. The subjugation of the European states was gradual, and accompanied by a succession of wars, alliances, and negotiations, during which the power of the Romans not being unchecked in any part of the country, they had objects of higher importance in view, than the collection of works of art—a pursuit which, even among conquerors the most anxious for such acquisitions, easily yields to the promotion of political and military advantages, or to the levying of pecuniary contributions.

The valuable spoil exhibited by T. Quinctius Flamininus, on his triumphal entry into Rome, after his long and successful command of the Roman armies in Greece, consisted chiefly of an immense number of the celebrated gold coin of Macedonia, called Philippics[1]. When a few

[1] Plutarch in Flamin.

years after the departure of Flamininus, Q. Fulvius Nobilior plundered the temples of the gods at Ambracia, he was obliged by the Roman senate to restore the statues[1]. Impressed with veneration for a common religion, and wishing to conciliate a half-subdued people, who commanded respect by their superior civilization, the Romans were at first unwilling to violate the temples where the choicest works of Grecian art were generally deposited as offerings.

It was not long, however, before their victories over the Carthaginians, and their increasing influence in Greece and Asia, rendered some of them less scrupulous. The conquest of Syracuse by Marcellus was soon followed by the triumphs of P. Æmilius Paullus, and Q. Cæcilius Metellus, over Macedonia, and of Mummius for the conquest of Achaia[2]. To

[1] Liv. l. 38. c. 44. It appears from Pliny (Nat. Hist. l. 35. c. 10.) that Fulvius retained a celebrated picture of the Muses.

[2] The numerous statues brought from Macedonia by Æmilius Paullus are mentioned by Plutarch. Two of them were by Phidias, (Plin. N. H. l. 34. c. 8.) Metellus Macedonicus carried to Rome the equestrian statues by Lysippus of the Macedonians, who fell in the battle of the Granicus, (Vell. Paterc. l. 1. c. 11.) or according to Pliny, (l. 34. c. 8.) of Alexander, and his friends. Mummius and Lucullus

these events, and to the immense quantities of books, statues, and pictures, which they introduced into Rome, is to be ascribed the rise and the establishment of that taste for the arts and literature of Greece, which soon essentially altered the Roman character.

After the entire conquest of Asia, this taste quickly degenerated into luxury, and must often have been gratified at the expense of the Grecian cities. It sufficiently appears from the orations of Cicero against Verres, that provincial governors, by violence, solicitation, or more frequently by forced purchase, frequently deprived the public edifices of the Greeks of their pictures and statues; but it is not less evident from the expressions of the orator, that such practices were held in the greatest disrepute among the Romans in general, and that the Greeks indulged in a manifestation of resentment at such spoliations, which equally prove that they were not very common.

Pausanias, in mentioning a single example by Sylla[1], expressly remarks, that such things were contrary to the usual conduct of the Romans,

filled Rome with brazen statues, brought by the former from Achaia, and by the latter from Asia, (Plin. ibid.)

[1] He carried off an ivory statue of Minerva from her temple at Alalcomenæ. Bœot. c. 33.

(ἤθους ἀλλότρια τῶν Ρωμαίων,) and he adds that it was for this sacrilege of Sylla, and for his treatment of the cities of Thebes, Athens, and Orchomenus, that the gods afflicted him with the disgusting disease of which he died.

During the ages which elapsed between the first entrance of the Romans into Greece, and the complete establishment of their power over that country, Attica appears to have suffered less than any of the countries which the arts of Greece had adorned. Once only in the course of this time did a conqueror indulge in the plunder of the city[1]. After the assault by Sylla, it is not to be supposed that his soldiers, who even carried away the votive shields from the Stoa Eleutherius, left any valuable works of art of easy transportation in the Cerameicus, or other quarters of the city. But Sylla soon extended his pardon to Athens; and there is reason to believe that he never exercised his privileges of a conqueror by the removal of any of the celebrated Athenian works of art. The description by Pausanias of the state of Athens, 250 years afterwards, as well as the enumeration, given by Pliny, of the Grecian

[1] For the conduct of Sylla at Athens, see Strabo, p. 398.—Appian. B. Mithrid. c. 38, 39.—Plutarch in Sylla.—Pausan. Attic. c. 20.—Phocic. c. 21.

statues at Rome, furnish a strong presumption in favour of this opinion; and in the account which Plutarch has left us of the triumph of Sylla, we find none of that display of Grecian statuary works, and other similar plunder, which distinguished the triumphal entries of Æmilius Paullus, Metellus Macedonicus, Mummius, Lucullus, and Pompey. It is true that the columns which had been prepared for the Olympium by Antiochus Epiphanes, but not yet erected, Sylla did not scruple to order to be conveyed to Rome; to be used in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus[1]; and he seized upon the library of Apellicon of Teus, which had been first collected by Aristotle, and augmented by Theophrastus[2]. But money for the support of his army was his great object. He plundered the sacred treasuries of Delphi, Olympia, and Epidaurus[3]; and when the Acropolis of Athens capitulated, he took forty pounds of gold, and six hundred of silver, from the Opisthodomus[4].

The good fortune of Athens, during the Ro-

[1] Plin. Nat. Hist. l. 36. c. 6.

[2] Plutarch in Sylla. Strabo, p. 609.

[3] Appian. Mithridat. c. 54. Pausan. Bœot. c. 7.

[4] Appian. Mithr. c. 39. The gold of the statue of Minerva in the Parthenon had been carried off 210 years before, by Lachares; yet Pausanias describes the statue as still made of ivory and gold in his time.

man wars in Greece, was partly the effect of her early alliance with Rome, and arose in part from the veneration in which she was held as the mother of learning and the arts. This respect increased with the advancement of the Romans in Grecian civilization; and it was fostered by the opinion, which soon prevailed among the opulent at Rome, that their education was incomplete without the study of Greek literature, and a residence at Athens. In the advantages derived from these sentiments among the Romans, all the surrounding provinces of Greece, full of places illustrious by their sanctity and ancient celebrity, would naturally in some degree participate.

The opportunities of collecting plunder of every kind, which occurred to the Romans in authority in the conquered countries, ceased in great measure with the establishment under Augustus, of a new system of government throughout the Roman world[1]. From this time no extensive plunder of Grecian works of art could be undertaken but by the emperors themselves, and such was still the influence of a common religion, that to remove the sacred offerings from the Grecian temples, could only be inflicted as a punishment upon an offending

[1] Tacit. Ann. l. 1. c. 1.

city, or undertaken by those emperors who were totally indifferent to public opinion.

Augustus removed some of the sacred offerings from the temple of Minerva Alea, at Tegea, because Tegea had led the whole confederacy of Arcadia, except Mantineia, to take part against him in his war with Antony[1]. Pausanias justifies the action by the right of conquest; and as he mentions several occasions upon which statues had been removed from Grecian temples by conquerors, beginning from the war of Troy, without mentioning a single instance in which the Romans had exerted a similar privilege, he furnishes a strong argument that such examples were by no means frequent.

The celebrated Cupid of Praxiteles, which was removed to Rome by Caligula, was restored to its temple by Claudius[2]; and we find that, even under the tyrant Nero, Bareas Soratus, his proconsul in Asia, sensible how deeply the injury would be felt by one of the most flourishing cities of his government, ventured to oppose Acratus in collecting works of art for the emperor, and prevented him from

[1] Pausan. Arcad. c. 46.

[2] Pausan. Bœot. c. 27. It was carried off a second time by Nero, and was destroyed by fire at Rome.

removing some sacred offerings from Pergamus[1].

The only Roman emperors who are recorded as having plundered Greece of its productions of art, are Caligula and Nero.

Caligula is said to have stript some of the Grecian cities of their finest works in painting and sculpture, and not even to have spared the temples[2]. He ordered some of the most celebrated statues to be brought to Rome, in order by changing the heads to convert them into statues of himself[3]. But these excesses not being begun until the middle of his short reign, and both the Greeks and Romans of that time lending themselves unwillingly to such sacrilege, his spoliations were never carried into execution to the extent which he designed.

It has been supposed[4], that, in conformity with

[1] Tacit. Ann. l. 16. c. 23.

[2] Joseph. Ant. Jud. l. 19. c. 1. Pausan. Bœot. c. 27.

[3] Sueton. in Calig. c. 22. Dion. Cass. l. 59. c. 28.

[4] By Chandler, (Travels in Greece, c. 15.) but who, as usual, neglects to cite his authority. His remark about changing the heads seems to show that he had mistaken the words of Suetonius, which are as follows: "datoque negotio, ut simulacra numinum, religione et arte præclara, inter quæ Olympii Jovis, apportarentur è Græcia, quibus, capite dempto, suum imponeret." Here is no mention of Athens; it is clear, therefore, that Suetonius meant the same Olympian Jupiter, of which Dion Cassius speaks, and which Josephus expressly states to have been at Olympia.

his orders, a statue of Jupiter was removed to Rome from the Athenian Olympium, but I cannot find the fact attested by any ancient author; and it seems very unlikely that there should have existed any great statue of Jupiter Olympius at Athens at this period, as the temple was not finished and dedicated until the reign of Hadrian. It is evident from Suetonius and Dion Cassius, that the statue of Jupiter, which Caligula chiefly wished to erect in his palace at Rome, was the celebrated chryselephantine work of Phidias at Olympia. We learn, however, from the same authors, and from Josephus, that his orders with regard to this statue were never executed[1]; and we know from Pausanias that it still remained in its place 135 years afterwards[2].

It was by Nero that the cities of Greece and Asia were most cruelly plundered of their works of art[3]. According to Dion Chrysostom[4],

[1] Sueton. in Calig. c. 57. Dion et Joseph. ubi sup. The god is said to have uttered a loud laugh, whenever the workmen attempted to move him. Memmius Regulus, who was charged by Caligula to send the statue, excused himself from executing his master's orders by this and other prodigies, but he would probably have suffered for his credulity, if he had not been saved by the emperor's death.

[2] Prior. Eliac. c. 10.

[3] Pausan. Eliac. prior. c. 25, 26. Bœot. c. 27. Phocic. c. 7.

[4] Orat. Rhod. p. 355. Morell.

who wrote about fifty years afterwards, Nero spared no place except Rhodes; but notwithstanding this strong testimony, the words[1] of which would even lead us to believe that Athens suffered more than any other city upon this occasion, we learn from Pliny, that there still remained after Nero's spoliation, 3000 statues at Athens, and as many at Olympia and Delphi[2]; and it is remarkable that among the Greek statues at Rome, enumerated by the same author[3], and the greater part of which, as he tells us, were transported thither by Nero, few are stated to have been brought from Greece Proper, and not one from Athens. We perceive from Pausanias that, long after the time of Nero, the Acropolis still preserved its most celebrated dedications. There is some reason to think, therefore, that the most eminent cities of Greece did not suffer greatly even in the reign of this emperor; that ancient prejudices were still sufficiently powerful to divert the collectors into places more distant and obscure; and that Secundus Carinas, the agent for Nero's collections

[1] Νέρων τοιαύτην ἐπιθυμίαν καὶ σπουδὴν περὶ τοῦτο ἔχων, ὥστε μηδὲ τῶν ἐξ Ὀλυμπίας ἀπόσχεσθαι, μηδὲ τῶν ἐκ Δελφῶν, καίτοι πάντων μάλιστα τιμήσας ταῦτα τὰ ἱερὰ· ἔτι δὲ τοὺς πλείστους τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἀκροπόλεως Ἀθήνηθεν μετενεγκών.

[2] Hist. Nat. l. 34. c. 7.

[3] Hist. Nat. l. 34. c. 8.

in Greece, was less active or successful in that province than Acratus in Asia[1]. It is not improbable that the religious veneration, and general respect of the Romans for Athens, which had so long protected it, operated in some measure upon the superstitious mind of Nero himself; for we are told that, when so near as Corinth, he was afraid to visit Athens, because it was the abode of the Furies[2], whose vengeance he feared for the same crime for which they had tormented Orestes. The strong terms in which Dion Chrysostom alludes to the robberies of Acratus in Asia[3], and the favours conferred upon Greece by Nero, which Plutarch[4] and Pausanias[5] are far from denying, are further reasons for thinking that Asia suffered more than Greece from that monster's passion for collecting statues.

But, however numerous the statues taken

[1] Per Asiam atque Achaiam, non dona tantum sed simulacra numinum abripiebantur, missis in eas provincias, Acrato et Secundo Carinate; ille libertus cuicunque flagitio promptus, hic Græcâ doctrinâ ore tenus exercitus, animum bonis artibus non induerat. Tacit. Ann. l. 15. c. 45.

[2] Dion Cass. l. 63. c. 14.

[3] Ἴστε γὰρ Ἄκρατον ἐκεῖνον, ὃς τὴν οἰκουμένην σχέδον ἅπασαν περιελθὼν τούτου χάριν καὶ μηδὲ κώμην παρεὶς μηδεμίαν. Dion. Chr. ubi sup.

[4] In Flamin.

[5] Achaic. c. 17.

from Greece by Nero, Caligula, and by some of the Romans, who enjoyed uncontrolled power in Greece in the time of the republic, may have been, we have still the undoubted testimony of Pausanias that far the greater part of the most perfect monuments of Grecian skill and genius, remained untouched in the reign of Marcus Aurelius, and that the sanctity of Delphi, Olympia, Epidaurus, Helicon, and of so many other temples both in the cities and sacred groves, still afforded protection to numerous works of Calamis, Myron, Phidias, Alcamenes, and the other great masters of ancient sculpture.

It was probably somewhat different with regard to pictures. In the time of Pausanias there seem to have remained few works of the great masters in this art; with the exception of such as were immoveable from their having been painted on the walls of the public buildings[1]. This was the most ancient practice; but as in process of time the painters of Greece executed works upon moveable tabulæ, easily transported, and intended for sale to persons of every country, the concentration of wealth at Rome attracted the greater part of these works

[1] There was a remarkable exception in the Pœcile, where we learn from two letters of Synesius, that the pictures of Polygnotus were painted upon σανίδες, and that they were not removed until the fourth century.

to the imperial capital, where it is probable that, among opulent individuals, pictures were more in request than statues; for painting being an art which speaks more intelligibly to the senses, seems, in every age and country since the decline of Grecian art, to have excited more general admiration than sculpture.

Not long after the age of the Antonines, a cause of destruction began to operate, which, although slow in its progress, has been more surely fatal to the fine works of the ancients than Roman spoliation, or the zeal of the early Christians, or the ignorant violence of the northern barbarians. The decline of taste, which began to be very evident in the productions of the age of Diocletian, went hand in hand with the decline of Paganism itself; and as the artist of antiquity was inspired by the proud consciousness that his work was to be an object of religious worship, and sometimes, by the belief of divine assistance, so the decay of superstition was necessarily accompanied by the inability to produce works equal in merit to those of the ancients, by a neglect of the ancient works themselves, and by their gradual destruction.

This cause had not been long in operation, when a more active motive of injury occurred in the hostility of the Christians towards idola-

try. It happened, however, by a remarkable coincidence, that, at the same period when the conversion of the Roman emperors first enabled the Christians to raise their hands against those idols, which they had long denounced from the pulpit, a practice was revived at Constantinople, which tended to save a great number of ancient works from destruction, though it had the effect of removing them from their original situations. In attempting to make new Rome a rival of the old, it was an object with the founder of Constantinople, and many of his successors, to adorn the capital with statues, and other similar works of art.

Constantine collected numerous statues from Asia, and plundered some of the sacred places of Greece[1]; but as he not only allowed a perfect toleration to the Pagans, but favoured their liberty of worship, and did not himself altogether renounce the Pagan deities[2], it is not to be supposed that he often removed any of the idols from the temples where their worship was still practised.

Constantius, a more zealous Christian, had no

[1] See Banduri. Comment. in Antiq. Const. p. 668. ed. Par. Petr. Gyll. de Topog. Const. l. 2. c. 13. Euseb. de Vitâ Constant. l. 3. c. 54.—Sozomen. l. 2. c. 5.—Zosim. l. 2. c. 21.—l. 5. c. 24.

[2] See Gibbon. c. 20.

such scruples, and he not only issued edicts to forbid sacrifices, and the adoration of images[1], but he directed the temples to be shut. If we may trust Libanius, he, in some instances, even threw down temples, and made presents of their estates to his favourites[2]; and his enmity to idolatry so far encouraged the religious fury of some of the followers of the church in Asia, that bishops were seen marching at the head of their congregations to overthrow the Pagan temples, and destroy the statues.

The collecting of ancient statues at Constantinople by Julian, having had the object of re-establishing polytheism, may have saved those whose temples were already in ruin, without removing any from the places where their worship still subsisted.

But, both from the collectors and from the destroyers of the ancient works at this period, the cities of Asia appear to have suffered much more than those of Europe. The excesses of the Christians appear to have been confined almost entirely to the eastern provinces, where they were more numerous, and where the national manners still partook of their original barbarism, in proportion to their distance from the centre of

1 Cod. Theodos. vol. 6. tit. 10.

2 (Orat. pro Templis.)—giving them away, says Libanius, like slaves or horses.

Grecian civilization. The cities of Asia, moreover, were more conveniently situated for the transportation of the objects to Constantinople, than those of European Greece; and it is remarkable, that, among the places enumerated by Codinus[1], and by an anonymous author of earlier date, whom he has followed[2], as having contributed their works of art to the ornament of the new capital, all, except one, are in Asia.

In Greece, properly so called, there is reason to think that such spoliations were not carried to a great extent during any part of the period in which the collecting of ancient works of art chiefly prevailed at Constantinople; nor does it appear that the temporary activity of the government against Paganism was there attended with any destructive effect to the temples and sacred offerings. The Isthmian, Pythian, and Nemean games were still celebrated: the Roman colony of Corinth still indulged in the slaughtering of wild beasts in the theatre[3]: and the temples, with the exception of that intermission during the reign of Constantius, which was both short and local, were freely open to the Pagan rites, until the reign of Theodosius[4].

[1] Georg. Codin. de Origin. Constant. p. 29. ed. Par.

[2] Anon. de Antiq. Const. ap. Banduri Imp. Orient. vol. 1.

[3] Julian Epist. 35.

[4] Zosim. l. 4. c. 29.

Athens enjoyed the particular favour of some of the early Byzantine emperors; and there is no record of her having experienced a different treatment from any of them. Constantine gloried in being appointed στρατηγὸς of Athens, and, in return for the honour of a statue, which the Athenians conferred upon him, he presented the city with a yearly gratuity of corn[1]: Constans followed his example by bestowing several islands upon the city[2].

Such favours could not be shown without according protection to the schools of philosophy and literature, which were the chief distinction of Athens, and to the religion, under which Attic learning had flourished, and with which it was inseparably connected. The church of Athens, although it boasted of having been founded by St. Paul, had made a very slow progress, and was still one of the most obscure in Greece. Unable to manifest any opposition to polytheism in its strong hold, the Athenian Christians derived their chief praise from the contrast of their peaceable demeanour, with the occasional turbulence of the Pagan population of

[1] Julian Orat. 1, p. 8. Spanh. The principal duty of the στρατηγὸς at that period, was to superintend the provisioning of the city, which accounts for the title having been conferred upon Constantine.

[2] Eunap. in Proæres.

the city[1]. The spirit of tolerance inherent in the Athenian religion, which gave a hospitable reception to the deities of all nations, (even to those whose names were unknown,) the Christians of Athens were exempted from those persecutions, under which the church was generally found to flourish; and they had no provocation to acts of violence, when the Christian religion at length obtained the ascendancy. Their priests took quiet possession of the magnificent temples of the Athenian mythology; and every thing ensured, as well to the ancient religion as to the philosophy of Athens, a tranquil and gradual downfall. Nor probably was there in any part of Greece, that violent hostility of the Christians against the emblems of Paganism, which (whether caused by bigotry, or the love of plunder), distinguished the Christians of some parts of Asia.

The reign of Julian was followed by the struggles of the empire against the Goths; in the course of which Athens was a second time taken by these barbarians, and a second time escaped with little injury to its buildings and works of art. On the former occasion, which occurred in the reign of Gallienus[2], the Goths had sailed from the Euxine into the Ægean sea,

[1] Origen cont. Cels. l. 3. p. 128. Spencer.

[2] A. D. 267.

and, having entered without opposition the unfortified Peiræeus, they marched to Athens, the walls of which, after having remained neglected from the time of their destruction by Sylla, had been recently repaired against the threatened invasion of the Gauls in the reign of Valerian[1]. While the Goths were engaged in the plunder of the city, they were attacked at the harbour by Dexippus, at the head of the Athenians, and were obliged hastily to abandon their conquest[2]. Soon after the defeat and death of Valens at Hadrianople[3], the Goths overran Thessaly and Epirus; but, by the prudent counsels of Theodorus, prefect of Achaia, Athens, and the southern provinces, were saved from their ravages[4]. Twenty years afterwards, headed by Alaric, they were more successful; and Athens, together with the greater part of Greece, fell into the hands of the barbarian conquerors[5]. As Alaric had recently become a zealous Christian, and was followed by a troop of monks, the idols and buildings of the Pagans might be supposed to have suffered severely upon this occa-

[1] Zosim. l. 1. c. 29. Zonar. l. 12. c. 23.

[2] Gibbon, c. 10.

[3] A. D. 378.

[4] See Chandler Inscript. Ant. p. 58.

[5] Zosim. l. 5. c. 5. Claudian in Rufin. l. 2. v. 191. Eunap. in vit. Maxim.

sion; but whether the victor was softened into compassion by the singular beauty of the place, and its buildings, a charm which has operated upon other barbarous conquerors of Athens, or whether it was merely the effect of the splendid ransom which he received, it seems certain that Alaric treated the city with the greatest lenity. Some words of the poet Claudian, and a rhetorical flourish of Synesius[1], have been thought to prove that Zosimus has not given a fair testimony of the forbearance of Alaric upon this occasion; but the historian adds a fact which gives the strongest confirmation to his previous assertions. At the time when he wrote his history[2], which must have been several years after the departure of Alaric from Greece, the Minerva Promachus of Phidias, a colossus higher

[1] The decline of Athens was a fine subject for the rhetorical taste of Synesius, who seems also, as bishop of a town in the Cyrenaica, to have taken some pride in giving a preference to Alexandria over Athens, as the seat of learning in those days. He has certainly represented Athens as being in a more decayed condition than it could possibly have been in his time. It appears from Synesius, that the Pœcile had preserved its pictures until they were carried away by a proconsul, who was probably the same accused by Zosimus of having assisted Alaric in passing unopposed through Thermopylæ. His name was Antiochus. Zosim. l. 5. c. 5. —Synes. ep. ap. Ep. Græc. Mut. p. 192, 246.

[2] It ends at the year 410, in the reign of Theodosius the younger.

than the Parthenon, was still standing, together with other brazen statues in the Acropolis[1]. We may be assured, that, if Alaric had plundered the citadel, the avarice of the conquerors would not have overlooked the metallic value of these statues; nor would the enemies of idolatry have left in its place so conspicuous an object of their abhorrence as the Minerva Promachus. Thus it appears that, at the close of the fourth century, the emblems of Paganism were still unmolested at Athens. The Athenians, about the same time, showed an instance of their adherence to ancient customs, by dedicating an image in marble of the prefect Theodorus[2], and another in brass was also ordered to be erected to him by the same Theodosius, who soon afterwards became one of the most determined enemies of Paganism.

At the end of the forty years which followed the accession of Theodosius to the throne, the successive decrees of that emperor, of Arcadius, of Honorius, and of Theodosius the younger, had almost entirely expelled the ancient superstition[3]. If from some of these decrees, confirmed by contemporary authors, we perceive

[1] ..... τὴν Πρόμαχον Ἀθηνᾶν ὡς ἐστὶν αὐτὴν ὁρᾶν ἐν τοῖς ἀγάλμασιν. Zosim. l. 5. c. 6.

[2] Chandler Inscript. Antiq. p. 58.

[3] See Codex Theodos. vol. 6. tit. 10.

that the Christians were excited by them to a cruel persecution of Paganism, and to an extensive destruction of the emblems of the ancient worship, others tend to show that such excesses were never intended by the government, and that they were checked as soon as known. After having forbidden idolatry, and the opening of temples to pagan sacrifices, the next object of the emperors was to preserve the temples from destruction, and to convert them to useful purposes, and, in considering as merely ornamental, the statuary works with which the Greek and Roman cities were still crowded, to save them as such from the hands of bigotry or wanton violence. It appears that Theodosius adorned his capital with several of the finest and most curious ancient statues, after having removed them from their temples; for, upon comparing Cedrenus[1] with the authors who have written on the foundation of Constantinople, there is reason to believe that the Venus of Cnidus, the Myndian Cupid, the Minerva Lindia, and the celebrated statue of ivory and gold by Phidias, from Olympia, together with another

[1] G. Cedren. p. 254. ed. Par. Zosimus also (l. 5. c. 14.) mentions the statue of M. Lindia. It stood, together with the Jupiter of Dodona, before the senate-house. These two alone escaped destruction, when many other fine Grecian works were destroyed by fire in that building.

(recumbent) Jupiter, were transported to Constantinople by Theodosius.

Greece, properly so called, seems still to have escaped from the collectors and destroyers of images better than the other provinces. The fervor of the newly-converted Theodosius was soon diverted from the Pagans to the heretical Arians, whose active and obstinate hostility formed a remarkable contrast to the mildness and submission of the Pagans.

In Athens, and the surrounding regions, so long the favourite abode of the Pagan mythology, the festivals and schools of philosophy were still allowed to subsist; and it is probable that even the imperial edicts against sacrifices were still secretly transgressed in the temples[1], Neither among the decrees which forbad idolatry, nor among those which were issued to repress the excesses of the Christians, do we find any one directed to the prefecture of Illyria, of which Greece formed a part[2], until so late as the year 426, when the emperor Theodosius the younger, having discovered[3] that some remains of the Pagan worship still existed in the pre-

[1] Zosim. l. 4. c. 29.

[2] Zosim. l. 2. c. 33.

[3] ....., "quamquam jam nullos esse credamus," are the words of the emperor in a prior decree, of the year 423, which was addressed to the prefecture of the east, and which confirmed the former edicts against the Pagans in that quarter.

feeture of Illyria, issued an angry edict for the destruction of all the temples.

It is probable that the great temples of Athens had before this period been converted into churches; but the province towards which this last decree is directed serves to confirm the supposition, that the downfall of Paganism had been slower in Greece than in any other part of the empire. In conformity with the same opinion, we may remark, that, among the works enumerated by Cedrenus, by the authors who have treated of the foundation of Constantinople, and by Nicetas, in describing the statues which were destroyed by the Franks upon the capture of Constantinople in 1204, none of the celebrated works of Greece, described by Pausanias, and other writers, are to be found, with the exception of the Olympian Jove, already mentioned, the Muses from Mount Helicon, the Apollo of Delphi, and the twisted serpents from the same place, which originally supported a golden tripod, dedicated from the spoils of the victory of Platæa[1]. Codinus, indeed, has also

[1] Zosim. l. 2. c. 31. Euseb. de vitâ Const. l. 3. c. 54. Sozom. l. 2. c. 5. Socrat. l. 1. c. 16. The monument of the battle of Platæa, described by Herodotus, (l. 9. c. 81.) was seen by Pausanias, (Phocic. c. 14.) but deprived of the golden tripod, which had been carried off by the Phocians. The brazen serpents, which supported it, were brought to his new

made mention of a monolithe statue, (no otherwise described,) a fragment of which remained in his time in the Strategium. He informs us also that two elephants at the golden gate came from the temple of Mars at Athens; and he states generally, that Athens had contributed many of the works with which Constantine adorned his new city: but as he has not described any of the great works mentioned by Pausanias, or other authors, and as much uncertainty, ignorance, and difference of opinion, are shown by the Byzantine authors, in regard to the statues collected at Constantinople, both in describing them, and in noticing the places from whence they were brought, it is not improbable that the name of Athens may have been introduced among that of the other cities, more from its fame than any other cause, and that in the course of time, the origin of many of the works collected, may have been forgotten, as so often happens among collectors of antiquities, to the great diminution of the utility and interest of the objects.

The state of the arts in the age of Constan-

capital by Constantine, together with the Pythian Apollo, and the Heliconian Muses. The Muses were destroyed seventy years afterwards, in the conflagration mentioned in the preceding note, (Zosim. l. 5. c. 24.) A part of the twisted serpents are still to be seen in the Atmeidan at Constantinople.

tine and his successors, may also have operated to save some of the finest productions of the ancient masters from being removed from Greece; for the declining taste of that period was hardly competent to distinguish all the merits of the ancient works, or sufficiently keen to prompt the Byzantine collectors to transport them from the places difficult of access, in which many of them were situated.

It appears, moreover, that the far greater part of the statues collected at Constantinople, were of Roman or Byzantine princes; or of eminent men and women of the court, or of saints, to whose images some miraculous properties were attributed. Some of these were no doubt ancient statues, converted by a change of head, or merely of name; but many must have been productions of the times when the persons lived. It appears also, that a very large proportion of the statues collected at Constantinople, had been brought from Rome[1].

It was probably about the year 420, of the Christian æra, in the reign of the younger Theodosius, that the truth of the Christian religion, aided by imperial edicts and example, effected the complete abolition of Paganism at Athens, and in the surrounding parts of Greece[2]. The

[1] Codin. de Orig. Const.

[2] A biographer of John Chrysostom (George of Alexan-

Parthenon, and the temple of Theseus, having been protected from the injuries of time by their solidity and excellent construction, and having escaped all the effects of barbarous fanatism, were at length, with all their external decorations still uninjured, converted into Christian churches. The slow and gradual conversion of the Greeks had the natural effect of blending the rites of the two religions, and of introducing many of the ancient ceremonies and customs of Paganism into the church; and we are not surprised to find that the Christians chose for the converted temple, the saint most resembling the Pagan deity to whom it had before been sacred. Thus the Parthenon, which had derived its name from the virginity of Minerva, became sacred to the Panaghia, or virgin mother of Christ, and the warrior St. George supplied the place of the hero Theseus in the Theseium.

Towards the middle of the fifth century, the Vandal pirates of Genseric visited Greece[1], but

dria,) has given him the credit of having converted a great body of the Athenians about the year 370; but as this tale is very extravagant in all its circumstances, and is not confirmed either by Chrysostom himself, or by Palladius, it has been generally rejected. (See Montfaucon Op. Joh. Chrysost. vol. 13.) From what has already been stated in the text, it appears highly improbable that the Christians of Athens should have been very numerous at that early period.

[1] Gibbon, c. 36.

we are not informed to what extent Attica, or any other part of the country, may have suffered upon this occasion. The maritime situation of Athens, however, and its feeble walls hastily repaired two centuries before[1], and in such a state a century afterwards, as to require their renewal by Justinian[2], were circumstances to attract and to favour the attempts of the barbarians.

Although Paganism received a mortal blow by the conversion of the people of Athens, and by the dedication of their temples to the Christian worship, some remains of their boasted philosophy survived for more than a century afterwards[3], when the schools of Athens were finally closed by a decree of Justinian.

The reign of this emperor contributed to the destruction of some of the remaining buildings of antiquity, and to the preservation of others.

[1] Zonar. Ann. l. 12. c. 23.

[2] Procop. de Ædif. l. 4. c. 2.

[3] The philosophy of Athens at this time seems to have been nothing more than astrology. When Justinian was building the church of Saint Sophia, he consulted two Athenian philosophers, who (adds Codinus) were also astronomers, to know whether the walls and pavement should be inlaid with gold. Their reply contained some Attic salt. They predicted, that, if the emperor adorned the church in the manner proposed, some poor kings would come and overturn it; but that if he built it of plain marble it would last for ever. Codin. de Orig. Const.

While such as were easily susceptible of repair were converted into churches, many of those which were in a state of dilapidation were entirely demolished for the sake of the materials, used in the construction of numerous new buildings erected by Justinian in every part of the empire. We are told by one of the Byzantine writers[1], who has described the foundation of St. Sophia, that, among the materials brought from different ancient cities upon this occasion, were some columns from Athens. These could not have been any of the numerous columns of the Olympium, for the loss of all traces of which it is now so difficult to account, because there are no columns of their magnitude in the mosque of St. Sophia; but it seems not improbable that some of the columns of coloured marble, which support the galleries of that building, may have belonged to the porticos of Libyan and Phrygian marble erected at Athens by Hadrian[2].

It was to Justinian that Greece was indebted for a new branch of cultivation, which, spreading by slow degrees, at length assisted materially in supporting industry and commerce in that country, during the ages of their greatest depression. The art of rearing the silk-worm, and of weaving its produce into cloth,

[1] Codin. de Orig. Const. [2] Pausan. Attic. c. 18.

such as had hitherto been brought into the Roman empire at a great expense from the east, flourished in Greece for several centuries before it was introduced into Italy. When Roger, king of Sicily, invaded Greece in the middle of the twelfth century, and captured Thebes, Athens, and Corinth, he carried back with him from those cities some Greek artisans, who taught the manufacture of silk to the Sicilians, from whom it spread quickly over Italy[1]. The manufacture of silken stuffs has since that time been transferred from Greece to countries where industry is more encouraged; but the culture of the raw commodity still subsists, although at present almost entirely neglected in the three cities, from whence Sicily first derived its silk.

After the suppression of the schools of Athens, and the dispersion of the few remaining votaries of Grecian science and superstition, Greek literature took refuge among the clergy, in the convents, in Constantinople, and in Thessalonica. Here it was preserved from being entirely extinguished during the four dark centuries which followed the reign of Heraclius, at whose death the eastern empire became reduced to those narrow boundaries, which were never afterwards enlarged. As, during this period, there was scarcely

[1] See Gibbon, c. 53, 56.

any contemporary historian to record the fortunes of the imperial capital, we cannot be surprised that not a trace should be found of the fate of Athens, now dwindled to a provincial town, and deprived of every remnant of science.

It has often been supposed that the fury of the Iconoclasts, or image-breakers, which for near 120 years[1] divided the empire into two conflicting parties, alike regardless of the encroachments of the Musulmans on one hand, or of the Sclavonians on the other, was an active cause of the destruction of the statuary works of the ancients.

But there is no good reason to believe that, in the provinces, the Iconoclasts exercised any active or efficient hostility against the ancient statues. The emissaries of Leo the Isaurian, and of his son Constantine, were generally resisted with success[2]; and although Leo himself destroyed some of the ancient works collected at Constantinople, where the quarrel chiefly raged, he left a far greater number uninjured[3]. The Iconoclast dispute, moreover, was entirely a Christian quarrel. The fury of the breakers of images was directed, not against the Pagan superstition, which was no longer an ob-

[1] From about A. D. 725 to 842.

[2] Gibbon. c. 49. [3] Codin. de Orig. Const.

ject of jealousy to the church, but against the images of Christ and the saints; and it was directed, not against statues, but against pictures[1].

But although there is no reason to think that the Iconoclasts sought out the productions of ancient sculpture for the purpose of destroying them, it was about the age of the Iconoclast dispute that those works finally disappeared from every part of the ancient world, with the sole exception of the Byzantine capital, where a few monuments of ancient sculpture were still preserved through the dark ages, together with those relics of ancient literature, which have contributed so much to polish and instruct modern Europe.

In Greece, in proportion as the Scythian

1 In the acts of the synod of Constantinople, (A. D. 754.) which forbad the use of images, there is no mention of any thing but pictures and colours. The words used throughout are γραφαὶ, κηρὸς, σανίδες, ξύλα, πίνακες, and the synod styles itself ἐπισκόπων ὁμήγυρις. . . . . συζήτησιν ποιησαμένη περὶ τῆς τῶν ὁμοιωμάτων χρωματουργίας. Hist. Concil. vol. 7. p. 415.

The word εἰκὼν, which among the Pagan Greeks was used for a portrait or resemblance, either in painting or sculpture, became gradually applied in ecclesiastical language to that kind of resemblance only, which was employed as an object of adoration in the churches. With this sense the word has been handed down to the present day, being now exclusively applied to the pictures of saints, which the Greeks hang in their churches, houses, ships, &c.

tribes settled in every part of the country, such monuments ceased even to be considered ornamental. A few may have been found by those barbarous settlers, and broken or melted by them; but the greater part had probably been either concealed by the priests during the operation of the imperial decrees against Paganism, in the hopes of more favourable times, which never arrived, or had been buried in the ruins of so many public edifices of all kinds, which fell into disuse, neglect, and destruction, in consequence of the impoverished and depopulated state of the country, and in consequence of the new systems of religion and civil government.

The state of Greece during the 250 years, which elapsed between the beginning of the thirteenth and the middle of the fifteenth century, was not favourable to the preservation of any monuments of antiquity, which Athens may have preserved at the beginning of that period. In the melancholy account which Nicetas[1] has left of the melting of the ancient bronzes by the Franks, when they took Constantinople in 1204, we see how totally regardless the ancestors of some of the most civilized nations of Europe were of the works of the ancient Greeks, and how incapable they were of feeling any

[1] Nicetas Choniat. ap. Banduri. Imp. Orient. vol. I. p. 93.

share of that respect for them, which, together with the ancient language, was still cherished among the Greeks themselves.

The account which the same author[1] and others have given of the state of Greece at this time, shows how naturally the country divides itself into small states, ready to contend with each other for boundaries, and such objects of jealousy as usually occur among neighbours.

According to the treaty of partition made by the Crusaders after the capture of Constantinople, Greece was to be divided between Boniface, Marquis of Montferrat, and the Venetians. The latter were to have the Morέa and the islands; the former was to have all the country north of the Isthmus, with Thessalonica for his capital. But the Franks were unable to realise the possession of all their conquests, several districts remaining in the power of independent tribes, or of Greek princes of the imperial families, or of adventurers who had acquired, and were still able to maintain, their independence by force of arms. Thus Epirus and Ætolia were in the power of John Ducas; the Vlakhiotes retained Mount Pindus; and the Greeks of A'grafa, the recesses of the ancient Dolopia: In the Morέa, Messenia belonged to the family

[1] Nicet. in Balduin.—G. Acropol. Hist. &c.

of Melissenó, who were descendants of a sister of the emperor Alexius Comnenus the first; Laconia was in the hands of Leon Khamáreto, and Corinthia and Argolis in those of Leon Sguró. The Venetians took possession of Candía, and of several other islands, but were not able to make good their claims to any part of the Moréa, where two French adventurers, of the families of Champlite and Villehardouin, having made themselves masters of all those parts of the peninsula which were not occupied by the Greeks, established the Frank principality of Achaia. Leon Sguró, who was married to a daughter of the dethroned Greek emperor Alexius, attempted to oppose the advance of the Marquis of Montferrat, at the celebrated passes of Tempe and Thermopylæ, but he was not more successful than the Greeks of old had been against the Persians or the Gauls.

His previous conduct, moreover, had been such as to facilitate the success of the Franks; for, desirous of turning the confusion of the empire to his own aggrandizement, he had attacked Athens, and, failing in an attempt upon the citadel[1], had injured the town, burnt

[1] Nicet. in Bald. c. 2. This circumstance may serve to show that Athens was already reduced nearly to its present dimensions. It appears that Leo's attack was upon the citadel, and that it was made without passing through the

the farms, and carried away the cattle of the Athenians. He had also taken and ill-treated Thebes; so that no sooner had the Franks made good their passage over Mount Œta, than they found the Bœotians ready to receive them as masters.

Michael Choniates, brother of the historian Nicetas, who had defended Athens against Sguró, was not quite so well pleased to give up his authority to the Marquis; but finding that between the two invaders no hope remained, he was content to submit. He was replaced by a Latin bishop sent from Rome, and the duchy of Athens was conferred by the Marquis of Montferrat, as king of Thessalonica, upon the most illustrious of his followers, a Burgundian, named Otho de la Roche.

After these conquests, Boniface received the voluntary submission of the inhabitants of Eubœa, who even constructed a bridge over the Euripus for the passage of his army; but he was not equally successful in the Moréa, where

town. The citadel, therefore, was no longer surrounded as anciently on every side by the town, but was already uninhabited on one side, which we cannot doubt, was the south, as at present. It seems also that the city was but slightly provided with means of defence; and we know that, until the Albanian invasion in 1770, the city itself had no other protection than such as was afforded by the junction of the outer houses, with a few gates and loop-holes.

he laid an ineffectual siege to the Acrocorinthus and Nauplia.

For a particular account of the revolutions of Greece, during the two centuries which followed the Latin conquest of Constantinople, I must refer the reader to the history of Constantinople under the French emperors, by the diligent and accurate Du Cange. The fate of Athens itself during the same period, may be comprised in a few lines.

The recovery of Constantinople by Michael Palæologus, in 1261, was preceded and followed by the expulsion of the Franks from many parts of Greece. Macedonia and Thessaly were again united to the imperial city, and the Greeks recovered several places in the Morea; but their possession of the latter was only temporary, and in general the provinces of southern Greece continued to be divided between the Greeks and Franks nearly in the same proportions, which had been established after the Latin conquest of Constantinople. The Despotate of the West, and all the southern parts of the Morea, remained in the hands of Greek princes. The rest of Greece, including the islands, continued to be occupied by Frank chieftains, the fluctuation of whose politics depended upon the influence of the popes and of the kings of Naples, and still more upon the two great naval powers, the Ve-

netians and Genoese. It was the fate of Athens never to revert to the Greeks, but to be a Frank principality, from the year 1204, until, in the middle of the fifteenth century, it was absorbed into the Turkish empire. It is to this long residence of foreigners, that we are to ascribe some peculiarities in the Attic dialect of modern Greek, found in no other parts of Greece, except in the islands, which have been under Frank dominion for an equal space of time.

The family of La Roche enjoyed the dukedom of Athens, which included Attica, Bœotia, and parts of Phocis and Eubœa; for about the same period as the French remained in possession of Constantinople. It then fell to Walter de Brienne, who married the heiress of La Roche. His son Walter, by means of his Frank mercenaries, who were chiefly Catalans, enlarged the boundaries of the duchy, and took Corinth, Argos, and some other fortresses, from the Greek princes of the Moréa.

The successes of Walter, however, led to his ruin; for, unable to satisfy all his greedy adventurers of Catalonia, he came at length to an open quarrel with them, and lost his duchy and his life in a battle on the banks of the lake Copais in Bœotia[1]. The Catalans chose Roger

[1] A. D. 1311.

Deslau, one of their prisoners, for their duke, and from Athens, as their principal fortress, made some conquests from the Despot of the West, particularly Neópatra, (the ancient Hypata,) at the northern foot of Mount Œta, which continued to be the chief bulwark of the duchy to the northward, until this city, together with all Thessaly, and the vale of the Spercheius, fell into the hands of the Turks. The Catalans were prevented from making any further advances in this direction by the Albanians.

On the death of Roger Deslau, the fortresses in the Morea falling off from the rest of the alliance, and the Catalans being again at a loss for a leader of sufficient talents and influence to preserve order and union among the different chieftains, each of whom was in possession of his castle and small district, they came to the determination of placing the duchy under the protection of the house of Arragon[1]. Hence, for the next sixty years Attica, Bœotia, Phocis, and the valley of the Spercheius, were generally an appanage of the younger branches of the royal family of Sicily. The duchy of Athens; and Neópatra, (as it was then called) was governed by deputies, who resided at Athens, and who administered the duchy in the name of the Sicilian prince. At the end of this period it

[1] A. D. 1326.

fell into the hands of the Florentine family of Acciajuoli.

The first of these was Nerio, or Renerio, nephew of Nicholas, grand seneschal of the kingdom of Naples. In the year 1364, Nerio obtained from the titular empress, Mary of Bourbon, the principality of Vostítza (the ancient Ægium) in Achaia. Some years afterwards he was sent by Jane the first, queen of Naples, to seize upon Corinth and Argos, under the pretence that they had been a part of the conquests of Walter de Brienne[1]. When the troops of the Holy League, formed between France, Naples, Venice, and Genoa, and cemented by pope Boniface the ninth, passed over into Greece, with the pretence of settling the quarrels of the Greek empire, and of preventing the further encroachments of the Turks, Nerio was opposed to the Catalans, Navarese, and other adventurers, who were in possession of several parts of the duchy of Athens. Together with a considerable share of courage and conduct, Nerio joined a great influence, derived from his matrimonial alliances, for he had espoused a Genoese lady of Eubœa, had given one of his daughters in marriage to Charles Tocco, duke of Ioánnina, and the other to Theodore Palæologus, Despot of the Morea, and brother of the Greek emperor.

[1] A. D. 1371.

Having reduced the whole duchy, Nerio received, in 1394, the patent of duke of Athens from Ladislaus, king of Naples and Hungary; and, dying not long afterwards, he bequeathed Athens to the Venetians, Thebes to his illegitimate son Antonio, and Corinth to his son-in-law the despot of the Morea. But Antonio seized upon Athens before the Venetians could assert their rights; and, having had the prudence to keep upon good terms with both Greeks and Turks, he enjoyed a long and peaceful reign. As he is said to have adorned Athens with several buildings, it is not improbable that the high tower at the entrance of the citadel is the work of this prince.

Upon the death of Antonio, his widow endeavoured to obtain the succession for herself, and the Turks having now established themselves in Thrace, from whence they were extending their incursions into Greece, she sent Laonicus Chalcocondyles, father of the historian, with rich presents to Adrianople, to procure the sanction of the Sultan, Murat the second, to her claims. But Nerio and Antonio, two relatives of Antonio the first, who had lived in his court, seized, in the mean time, upon the citadel, which gave the Sultan a pretext for sending his Turks to plunder Bœotia.

Nerio soon found himself obliged to give

way to the superior talents and activity of his brother Antonio, and retired to Florence. Antonio did not long enjoy his acquisition. Upon his death, in 1435, his widow, who was a Greek, and heiress of the family of Melissenó of Messenia, endeavoured to transfer all his possessions, including Athens and Thebes, to one of the Palæologi, Despot of the Moréa; but, before she could put the design in execution, Turakhan seized upon Thebes for Sultan Murat; and Nerio Acciajuoli the second, returning from Florence to Athens, resumed the duchy as tributary to the Sultan.

During his reign, in the year 1445, the Sultan marched to the Isthmus of Corinth, took the intrenchments of Hexamíli, and received submission and tribute from the princes of the Moréa; but this lasted no longer than the Turkish army remained in that part of the country, and the Greek despots were not finally reduced until Mehmet the second marched into the Moréa, five years after the conquest of Constantinople.

On the death of Nerio the second, his widow administered the government of Athens for some time in the name of her young son; but, having married a nobleman of Venice, of which republic the Turks were already extremely jealous, the Sultan sent Francesco, son of Antonio Ac-

ciajuoli the second, to Athens as governor. This young man, who, according to the usual Turkish mode, had been brought up among the attendants of the Sultan, as a hostage for the fidelity of his father, had not been long in possession of Athens, before he gave evidences of his Turkish education, by putting to death the widow of his uncle Nerio, though neither she nor her Venetian husband made any opposition to his assumption of the government.

This event furnished an opportune pretext to the ambitious Mehmet the second, who had now succeeded to the scymetar of Ali Osman, to order his general, Omar, son of Turakhan, to seize upon Athens. Francesco, having retired into the citadel, made a capitulation, by which he retained the government of Thebes; and Omar, in the month of June 1456, took possession of Athens, which, three years afterwards, was visited by Mehmet himself, on his return from the conquest of the Morea[1].

The humiliation of Athens was now complete. Obliged at last to bend her neck to the yoke of the oriental barbarians, who, for more than nineteen centuries, had been kept at a distance by the effects of Grecian superiority in all that makes a nation powerful, Athens has

[1] A. D. 1459.

ever since considered herself fortunate in receiving the orders and protection of the Sultan, through the mediation of a black eunuch slave, the guardian of the tyrant's women[1]. This envied privilege was granted by Mehmet himself, who, having expressed the highest admiration at the beauty of the situation, the magnificence of the ancient buildings, the strength of the citadel, and the convenience of the harbours, thought the whole district not unworthy of becoming an appanage of his harem. He punished some of the Athenians for a conspiracy, either real or pretended, to restore Francesco; and soon after his return to Constantinople, he ordered Francesco himself to be put to death. The Parthenon was converted from a Christian church into a mosque; a minaret was erected at its south-western angle, and such alterations were made at the western entrance of the Acropolis; as the recent invention of artillery had rendered necessary for its defence.

At the end of that great revolution, which, having begun in the abandonment of ancient civilization to the northern barbarians, had ended in the conversion of all those barbarous nations to Christianity, and in the consequent

[1] Chalcocond. l. 9. p. 241.

commencement of a new and better civilization, Greece felt the effects of the great change in the partial revival of letters, though it was soon disturbed by the progress of the Mohammedans, and at length destroyed by the Turkish conquest, which, while the rest of Europe has been in a state of progressive improvement, has reduced Greece to the level of the Musulman nations.

The darkness of Greek history during the four centuries preceding the twelfth, is suddenly illumined by the histories of Anna Comnena and Nicetas, from whom it appears that Greece emerged from that darkness nearly in its present state. Although the learned of Constantinople might turn with pride and satisfaction to the ancient authors for models of the written language, we find undoubted proofs in the Byzantine writers of the twelfth century, that the country had then undergone all the changes in its language, in its population, and in its names of places, which characterize modern Greece. The grammar of the language had assumed nearly the same form which distinguishes the modern languages of Europe, derived from the Latin; and its poetry no longer regarded the structure of feet, and quantity of syllables, but, like that of the nations of modern Europe,

was regulated by accent, to the exclusion of quantity.

A fond attachment to the ancient glory of the nation might induce the Byzantine writers, and in particular the learned princess Anna, to prefer the use of names so dear to classical recollection, as Peloponnesus and Sparta; but it is evident from Nicetas, that those of Moréa and Mistrá were already in use. The people of Greece, divided as they now are into Romans, (Ρωμαῖοι,) Albanians, (Ἀρβανῖται,) and Wallachians, (Βλάχοι,) had severally settled themselves in the districts where we now find them, while the Bulgarians, who had pervaded every part of Greece, had already established the names of Sclavonic derivation, which we find spread over every part of the country, from the north of Macedonia to Cape Matapán. The degree of dependence of each part of the country upon Constantinople, its political divisions, and the towns in which the population had chiefly concentrated itself, were nearly the same as they are at the present day. In the Morea[1], Pátra, Mistrá, and the maritime fortresses of Monemvasía, Anápli, Koróni, and Methóni, already held the chief rank. Beyond the Isth-

[1] Tripolitza has acquired some greater degree of importance of late years, from its having become the seat of government instead of Anápli (Nauplia).

mus, the towns of note were Athens, Thebes, and Eŭripŏ, (Chalcis of Eubœa); in Thessaly and Epirus, Lárissa, Trikkala, Arta, and Ioannina; and in Macedonia, Achris, Scopia, Serræ, Berrhæa, and Thessalonica.

Athens among the rest seems to have emerged from the dark ages nearly in the state in which we now find it. Deprived of the adventitious circumstances which caused its ancient splendor, and even of the maritime commerce, which is absolutely necessary to raise it above a small provincial town, Athens was probably reduced nearly to its present population of eight or ten thousand, soon after piracy, the natural curse of the Levant seas, had resumed its reign, and had reduced the maritime commerce of Athens to its state in the heroic ages.

It happened most opportunely for the Turks, that, about the time when their martial virtues began to decline, and when they began to be opposed to armies in which the art of war was making rapid improvements, the discoveries of a new continent, and of a maritime route to India, together with the new views of ambition, commerce, and international policy, which arose out of those events, diverted the attention of civilized Europe from the countries which had been conquered by the Turks from the Christians. Had it not been for these events, it is

probable that the Turks would long since have been expelled from Europe, and from the shores of the Mediterranean, instead of being left to the present time in the undisturbed abuse of the finest regions of ancient civilization.

The antipathy which must always prevail between Mohammedans and Christians, threw an additional veil over the fate and condition of Athens, reduced as it was to the provincial town of a barbarous empire. So great was this obscurity two hundred and fifty years ago, when Greek literature had already been cultivated in several parts of Europe with ardour and success, that Athens was hardly known to exist as an inhabited place; and still less was it suspected to retain any remains of its ancient magnificence. This poverty and obscurity, however, were attended with some advantage; for, combined with the strength of the Acropolis, and the distance of the city from the sea shore, they served in great measure to protect it from the pirates, and from the corsairs of the Turks, Venetians, Genoese, and other nations, which have frequented the Ægean sea, and desolated its coasts, in the course of the wars in which those nations have been engaged in the Levant. Twice only since the Turkish conquest have the events of war carried ruin or spoliation into the city itself. In the year 1464, the Venetians

landed at the Peiræeus, surprised the city, and carried off their plunder and captives to Eubœa. Two centuries afterwards, Athens again experienced from the same nation an interruption to her lethargic repose.

At the end of the campaign of 1687, in which the Venetians, under Francesco Morosini, afterwards Doge, made those important conquests in the Corinthian gulf and Moréa, which gave to the Venetians the possession of the peninsula for eight and twenty years, Morosini, with the Venetian fleet, entered the gulf of Ægina, intending to proceed against Eubœa; but the season appearing too far advanced, he determined to apply the remainder of the autumn to the reduction of Athens, thus securing at least a convenient station for the winter in the Peiræeus. Having sent a squadron into the straits of Eubœa to prevent the Turks of Egripo from assisting those of Athens, Morosini proceeded with his armament from Ægina to the Peiræeus: Here he was met by the chiefs of the Greek community, who, in offering submission and assistance, informed him at the same time that the Turks had retired into the citadel, abundantly provided with the means of defence, and that they had sent to demand succour from the Seraskier at Thebes.

On the 21st of September, 8000 infantry and

870 horse, under Count Konigsmarck, a Swede, disembarked, marched to Athens, and summoned the citadel without effect. On the 25th, four large mortars, and several pieces of heavy ordnance were placed in battery; the cannon on the hill of the Pnyx, two of the mortars at the eastern foot of the Acropolis, near the Latin convent, where the regiment of the Prince of Brunswick was quartered, and the two others on the northern side of the town.

On the 26th the fire was opened. As the western end of the hill was the only assailable point, the fire was principally directed against the Propylæa, and the modern defences below that building. To the explosion of a Turkish magazine, which soon took place, we may probably attribute the destruction of the beautiful little temple of Victory without Wings, the frieze of which is now in the British Museum; for nothing but a few fragments of the temple have been found by any traveller who has visited Athens since the siege; and we know from Spon and Wheler that, a few years before the siege, it was complete, and used as a powder magazine.

The operations were for a short time interrupted by a party of the Seraskier's cavalry, who suddenly made their appearance in the plain, but they were soon attacked and put to

flight by the Venetians. On the 27th, the defences of the western end being much injured, and several of the guns dismounted, the besiegers began to make approaches towards the enemy's works, but they proceeded with difficulty on account of the rocky nature of the ground. The fire, meantime, was continued from the mortars upon the citadel. The Parthenon being so conspicuous an object, and occupying so large a portion of the citadel, could not long escape injury; but this might have been comparatively insignificant, had not the Turks unfortunately collected in the temple, together with their most valuable property, a large quantity of combustible ammunition. Towards the evening of the 28th, a shell, falling upon the centre of the building, inflamed the magazine. The explosion reduced all the middle of the temple to a heap of ruins; but, having occurred nearer to the eastern than to the western end, it threw down all the wall at that extremity, and precipitated to the ground all the statues of the eastern pediment, while the western front received little injury, and a part of the Opisthodomus was left standing, together with some of the lateral columns of the peristyle adjoining to the cell. The conflagration caused by the explosion, spreading to the houses of the citadel, and the Pasha and his son having soon afterwards been

killed by another shell, the Turks made offers to capitulate, and on the 29th of September signed terms, by which they were to leave the place in five days, to give up all their slaves and prisoners, and to be transported with their families to Smyrna.

On the 4th of October, 3000 Turks, of whom 500 were military, marched out, and were embarked. The Venetians found 18 pieces of cannon in the fortress. These they distributed in three redoubts, which they built between the city and Peiræeus, to secure the road from the cavalry of the Seraskier. But a more formidable enemy than the Turks soon began to molest them. It was not long before the plague made its appearance in the Venetian garrison of the Acropolis, when Morosini, to prevent its spreading from the city to the fleet in Peiræeus, and to the camp at Munychia, threw up an intrenchment from Port Munychia to Port Peiræeus, which converted the peninsula of Munychia into a fortified place of arms. In the course of the winter, preparations were begun by the Venetians for their expedition against Negropont, when Morosini, embarrassed by the plague, finding that Negropont would demand all his armament, and that Athens would require a larger force than he could spare to keep up the

communication with the sea, from whence alone his garrison could be supplied with provisions, resolved upon abandoning his recent conquest entirely. It was in vain that the Greeks, dreading the vengeance of the Turks against them, offered the payment of 20,000 reals, besides maintaining the garrison. In the month of March 1688, the Acropolis was dismantled, and the ordnance was conveyed to the Peiræeus. The Greeks then proceeded to the same place, not without some disturbance from the Turkish cavalry, and bitterly complaining that the pretended friendship of their fellow Christians had produced no other result, than the loss of their homes and estates.

On the 4th of April, the Venetian garrison evacuated the Acropolis, retired into the entrenched camp of Munychia, and in three days afterwards embarked. The emigrant Greeks having embarked in Venetian ships, some went to Salamis, Ægina, and the islands of the Ægean, others to Corinth and Nauplia, near which latter place the senate of Venice allotted habitations and portions of land to some of the emigrants, in the district of Iri, (the ancient Asine); while to others they gave annual stipends. The greater part of the emigrant families were, however, in the course of a few years prevailed upon by

the Turks of Athens to return; and the district of Iri is now very little cultivated or inhabited[1].

Thus ended this fatal expedition, no less destructive to the remains of Athenian art, than useless as a military enterprise; for it contributed nothing to facilitate the acquisition of Eubœa, or to complete the conquest of Peloponnesus. In three days the works of Pericles received from a nation which not only prided itself upon the encouragement of the arts, but which had even rivalled the ancients in painting, more injury than had been caused by many centuries of the grossest ignorance and barbarism. A few years before the siege, when Wheler, Spon, and De Nointel visited Athens, the Propylæa still preserved its pediment; the temple of Victory without Wings was complete; the Parthenon, or great temple of Minerva, was perfect,

[1] For the history of the siege see Fanelli, Atene Attica, a work published sixteen years afterwards, and in which the pomp of expression forms an amusing contrast with the poverty of thought. But the best authorities are the two following contemporary documents:—1. Letter of a Venetian captain, employed in the siege, preserved by Bulifone. Lettere Memorabili, Raccolta Seconda, p. 83. 2. The official report of the Venetian government upon the campaign of 1687, transmitted to London, translated into English, and published with the royal arms of James II. on the 16th of December, 1687, under the title of "Journal of the Venetian Campaign," &c.

with the exception of the roof, and of the central figures in the eastern, and of one or two in the western pediment; the Erechtheium was so little injured that it was used as the harem of a Turkish house; and there were still some remains of buildings and statues on the south side of the Parthenon. If the result of the siege did not leave the edifices of the Acropolis quite in the deplorable state in which we now see them, the injury which they received on that occasion was the cause of all the dilapidation which they have since suffered, and indeed has rendered the transportation of the fallen fragments of sculpture out of Turkey their best preservative from total demolition.

In fairness to the Venetians, however, it must be confessed that they neither appear to have previously known the value of the antiquities contained in the Acropolis, nor to have had any expectation of the fatal effects of their fire. The great cause of all the destruction, which the buildings of the Acropolis have suffered in modern times, has been the practice prevailing among the Athenian Turks of depositing their powder in the convenient receptacles afforded by the ancient buildings. Although works so exquisitely finished as those of the Acropolis could not fail to receive cruel injury from a bombardment and cannonade at a range of five or six

hundred yards, the solidity of ancient Athenian architecture would have defied the Venetian projectiles, if it had not been for the deposits of powder in the temples of Victory and Minerva. It was in like manner by a powder magazine, supposed to have been inflamed by lightning, that the eastern portico of the Propylæa, together with the adjacent parts, were thrown down about the year 1656. At present the ammunition of the Turkish citadel is deposited in the northern portico of the Pandrosium, which has been closed for that purpose, and thus there wants only a casual thunderbolt, or the stupid or predestinarian negligence of a Turkish keeper, to scatter in atoms this most exquisitely finished of all the Athenian edifices.

The removal of the statues of the western pediment of the Parthenon, which even the explosion had been unable to displace, was begun by Morosini himself, who thought that the car of Victory, with its horses of the natural size, and of such admirable workmanship as to strike the Venetians themselves when they came to examine them with astonishment and regret, would be a fine accompaniment to his triumphal entry into Venice, and a noble monument of his conquest of Athens, or according to the more candid expression of the Italian historian, of the voluntary abandonment of the Attic conquest.

By the awkwardness of the Venetian engineers, however, the whole groupe was thrown down in the act of lowering it, and according to the testimony of an eye-witness[1], broken to atoms. The destruction of these horses was so complete, that no remains of them have been discovered among the other fragments found at the foot of the western pediment, and conveyed to England by Lord Elgin.

It has already been observed, that, until the middle of the sixteenth century, Athens was hardly known to preserve any remains of antiquity, or even to exist as an inhabited place. The study of Greek literature, spreading rapidly over Europe, produced at that time an endeavour to penetrate the darkness which had enveloped Greece since the Turkish conquest, and which had rendered it less known and less explored than the wilds of the lately discovered new world. It was not that travellers had not occasionally penetrated into Greece at an earlier period, for it appears that Ciriaco d'Ancona copied some inscriptions at Athens in 1437;

[1] The Venetian Captain abovementioned, whose company was quartered in the Acropolis, expresses himself as follows: "Sopra l'entrata eravi l'effigie de Giove, il trionfo della nascita di Minerva, e due cavalli che tiravano il carro, ove essa sedeva. L'eccellentissimo Capitan Generale mandó a letare quei cavalli, ma la poca accortezza di alcuni gli fece cadere e si ruppero non solo, ma si difecero in polvere."

and we are informed by Spon, that he saw at Rome a manuscript on vellum, of an Italian architect named Giambetti, of the date of 1465, in which the artist had given designs of the Tower of the Winds at Athens, of Sparta, and of other places; but the truth was, that the progress of literature was still so slow that little curiosity was shown for such inquiries. In the year 1573, Martin Kraus, or Crusius, a learned professor of Tubingen, and the first who taught Greek in Germany, curious to ascertain the actual state of Greece, and of the Greek language, contrived to open a communication with some Greeks at Constantinople upon those subjects. In a letter addressed to Theodore Zygomalá, he states that Athens was described by the modern historians of Germany as totally destroyed, and occupied only by a few fishermen's huts, and he desires to know from his correspondent whether such was the truth. Zygomalá answers that, being a native of Nauplia, he had often visited Athens, but, in attempting to describe its antiquities, he exposes his ignorance, for he calls the Parthenon, the Pantheon; and, by a mistaken application of a passage in Pausanias, he supposes the horses of the car of Victory in the western pediment to be the work of Praxiteles[1].

[1] Τὸ πάνθεον, οἰκοδομὴν νικῶσαν πάσας οἰκοδομὰς, γλυπτῶς

Another correspondent of Crusius, Symeon Kavasíla, commits a still grosser blunder as to the Parthenon, by calling it the temple of the Unknown God, mentioned by St. Paul[1]. He states the citadel of Athens to have been then inhabited by the Turks, and the lower town by the Christians, which seems to indicate a more marked separation of the two nations, than exists at the present day, when all the higher class of Turks resides in the city. The extent of Athens appears also to have been at that time somewhat greater than it now is on the side of the Olympium; for, if I understand his words rightly, one third of the ancient Hadrianopolis was then inhabited, where in another century there remained only two or three cottages.

ἐκτὸς διὰ πάσης τῆς οἰκοδομῆς ἔχουσαν τὰς ἱστορίας Ἑλλήνων καὶ ταῦτα, τὰς θείας· καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων, ἐπάνω τῆς μεγάλης πύλης, ἵππους δύο φρυασσομένους εἰς σάρκα, τὸ δεκεῖν ἐμψύχους, οὓς λέγεται ὅτι ἐλάξευσε Πραξιτέλης. Theod. Zygomalas ap. Mart. Crus. Turco-Græc. l. 7. ep. 10.

[1] Πάλαι μὲν τὸ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν ἄστυ τρίπλοκον ἦν, καὶ ἅπαν οἰκούμενον. Νῦν δὲ τὸ μὲν ἐσώτερον ὅπερ ἀκρόπολις, ἐν ᾧ καὶ ναὸς τῷ Ἀγνώστῳ Θεῷ, ἅπαν ὑπὸ μόνων Ἰσμαηλιτῶν οἰκούμενον· τὸ δὲ ἐκτὸς (τὸ ἀναμεταξύ φημι) ὅλον ὑπὸ τῶν Χριστιανῶν· τοῦ δὲ ἐξωτέρου (ἐν ᾧ καὶ ἡ Βατίλεια διὰ μαρμάρων καὶ κιόνων μεγίστων, ἐφ' ὧν, τῆς πύλης ἐπιγέγραπται μονόστιχον—Αἶδ' εἰσ' Ἀθῆναι, Θησέως ἡ πρὶν πόλις) τὸ τρίτον οἰκούμενον· ὅλον δὲ ἐν ὅσῳ οἱ ἄνθρωποι ὄντες τυγχάνουσιν (ἐξ ἐν ἄνδρὸς τὸν ἀριθμὸν χιλιάδες δώδεκα) ἀφ' ἓξ ἢ ἑπτὰ μιλίων περιεχόμενον. S. Kabasilas ap. M. Crus. Turco-Græc. l. 7. ep. 18.

With this exception Athens seems to have been nearly of its present dimensions, to which indeed we have reason to believe that it was reduced long before the time of Kavasíla[1]. We can hardly doubt, therefore, that the population of 12,000, which he assigns to the city, was considerably above the truth.

Deshayes, who was French ambassador to the Porte in 1621, passed through Athens in his way to Constantinople. He published a few observations upon the place, in which he describes the Parthenon as being of an *oval* form, and he adopts the supposition of Kavasíla, as to its being the temple of the Unknown God, a mistake which probably originated with the Athenians themselves, who at that period had absurdly affixed the name of arsenal of Lycurgus to the Propylæa, and those of Lantern of Demosthenes, Temple of the Winds, and Palace of Themistocles, to some of the other buildings.

Thus, until the middle of the seventeenth century, although curious inquirers might learn that Athens was not only a considerable city, but that it still contained many monuments of antiquity, they must notwithstanding have been totally at a loss to understand which of the celebrated buildings of the ancients had survived.

[1] See page lxxii, note 1.

It was to the establishment in Greece of the monastic orders of the Roman church, that Europe was indebted for the first accurate information upon this subject[1]. Dr. Spon, a physician and learned antiquary, of Lyons, having opened a correspondence with the Père Babin, a Jesuit at Athens, received from him such a description of that place as Spon thought worthy of being published. This was done at Lyons in 1674. In the same year, the Marquis de Nointel, being appointed French ambassador at Constantinople, made a short stay at Athens in his way, and left there Jacques Carrey, a young artist, who was employed for six weeks in making drawings. The originals of these designs, executed very rudely and inaccurately, partly in red chalk, and partly in black lead, are now in the National Library at Paris. Fac similes of them have lately been presented to the British Museum. They represent in twenty-eight drawings the two pediments of the Parthenon, the metopes of the southern side of the same temple, and a great part of the frieze on the outside of its cell. Among the buildings of the lower town there delineated, are the church of the Megáli Panaghía, with three Corinthian columns in its wall, two an-

[1] The Jesuits first went to Athens in 1645: The Capuchins in 1658.

cient friezes in the wall of the church of Gorgópiko, a view of the eastern extremity of the city, which comprises the Olympium, the banks of the Ilissus, and Mount Hymettus, and lastly a nearer view of the Olympium.

It appears from these drawings, that, whatever modern houses may have existed around the Olympium, in the time of Kavasíla, they were reduced in another century to two or three cottages near the fountain Enneacrunus, together with a few others which stood in a range of gardens, on the banks of the Ilissus, extending from Enneacrunus as far as the bridge over the Ilissus in the road to Sunium. We learn from Spon, that Callirhoe, the ancient name of Enneacrunus, which is now applied to the river Ilissus, as well as to the fountain, was then attached also to the hamlet near it. This hamlet, as well as the houses and gardens below it, have long since disappeared.

It further appears from Carrey, that there existed the ruins of a considerable building at the northern end of the bridge of the Stadium; of which a fragment, together with an arched entrance to the bridge, remained in the time of Stuart, but has since been destroyed, as well as the greater part of the bridge. The columns of the Olympium were in the same state in the time of Carrey as at present, with the excep-

tion of the single column, which Stuart and Chandler mention to have been taken down a little before their visit to Athens. Within the area of the great cluster of these columns, Carrey has represented a Greek church, which no longer exists. It was called the church of St. John at the Columns, (σταὶς κολόνναις), and its position, not connected with any part of the ancient building, seems to indicate that the ruin of the Olympium took place at a remote period.

In the year 1675, Athens was visited by the Earl of Winchelsea, English ambassador to the Porte, and in the following year by Mr. Vernon, of whose travels in Greece a short account was soon afterwards published in the *Philosophical Transactions*. The same year was distinguished in modern Athenian annals by the visit of Dr. Spon and Sir George Wheler, from whom, and from the drawings of Carrey, we derive all our knowledge of the state of Athens, prior to the siege, which forms the great æra in the modern history of Athenian antiquities; for, as to Guillet, who published in 1675, the pretended travels in 1669 of his brother La Guilletiére, it is evident that the work is nothing more than a romance, constructed indeed with some degree of learning and ingenuity, and founded upon some correct information acquired by

Guillet from the missionaries, then recently established in Greece, added to that which he found in the printed account of the Père Babin; but mixed up with adventures of his own invention, and with descriptions taken from Pausanias or other ancient authors, of buildings annihilated long before his time, but which he represents as still in existence[1]. What indeed are we to think in the present day, of a traveller, who states that he saw ruins of the Lyceium, with trees and an aqueduct near the ascent to the Acropolis, an inscription to the Unknown God on the front of the Parthenon, a Pantheon near the Bazar more magnificent than the Pantheon at Rome, with two horses

[1] Spon at first was inclined to defend Guillet against Vernon, who, having carried Guillet's book with him to Athens, gave testimony to its falsehood in his letter to the Royal Society. In his *Voyage*, first published at Lyons in 1678, Spon even allows that La Guilletiére had been seven days at Athens; but feeling himself unable at the same time to avoid making some observations upon Guilletiére's absurdities, Guillet attacked him in a "Dissertation sur un Voyage, publié par un Medecin Antiquaire. Paris, 12mo. 1679." Spon immediately published a "Reponse à la Critique, publiée par M. Guillet, sur le Voyage de Gréce de Jacob Spon. 12mo. Lyons, 1679." In this work Spon expresses doubts that such a person as La Guilletiére had ever existed, brings proofs of the manner in which Guillet's information was obtained, and gives a list of 112 errors in his book.

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before it[1], the work of Praxiteles, but placed there by Hadrian—who pretends to have seen ruins of a temple of Neptune, of the Prytaneium, of the Metroum, of the Bucoleium, of several of the porticos of the Cerameicus, together with many of the statues described in that quarter by Pausanias,—who discovers the theatre of Bacchus in the plain *half hid with trees and grass*—who finds an ancient building called the Lantern of Diogenes, which no other traveller ever heard of—who discovers temples of Vulcan and Venus Urania, where Spon and Wheler saw only two modern mosques—and who finds the marble seats still remaining in the Stadium, although none of them were to be seen six years after his pretended journey.

As frequent reference will be made in the course of the present work to the description given of the buildings of Athens, by Spon and Wheler, it will be unnecessary to say more at present upon the state of Athens in their time.

One cannot, however, pass the mention of their names without expressing surprise that their publications, which first gave civilized Europe an adequate idea of the treasures of ancient art which Athens still retained, should

[1] The inscription to the Unknown God, and the horses before the Pantheon, are evidently improvements upon the blunders of Zygomalá and Kavasíla.

not have roused any government or individual to an attempt to convert those models to the improvement of architecture and sculpture at home, by means of accurate drawings, or casts of the originals. But literature and the arts were still so little encouraged in the age of Louis the fourteenth, either in France or England, that it passed away without any endeavour to acquire a further knowledge of the productions of the greatest school of Grecian art.

It was not until ninety years after the publication of the travels of Spon and Wheler, that an English artist, studying at Rome, perceived that he was not yet at the fountain head of true taste in architecture, and determined to proceed to Athens with the view of making such a stay there as should enable him to bring away drawings of all the principal remains of antiquity. Stuart[1] having engaged Revett, another architect, to join him, they proceeded to Athens in the year 1751, where they remained during the greater part of three years. The first part of the result of their labours was published in 1761; soon after which a further knowledge of Greece and of its remains of antiquity was obtained by a private society in London, which has done more for the improvement of the arts by researches into the existing

[1] See Preface to Stuart's Antiq. of Athens, vol. 1.

remains of the ancients than any government in Europe.

In the year 1764, the society of Dilettanti engaged Mr. Revett to return to Greece, in company with Mr. Pars and Dr. Chandler; the former an able draftsman, the latter well qualified to illustrate the geography and antiquities of the country by his erudition. The result of this mission has put the public in possession of the designs of several Athenian antiquities, left imperfectly examined by Stuart, together with architectural details of some of the most celebrated temples of Asiatic Greece; a volume of Greek inscriptions by Dr. Chandler, and two volumes of travels in Asia Minor and Greece by the same person.

As Chandler, with the exception of Spon and Wheler, is the earliest modern traveller who has applied a competent share of judgment and learning to the examination of any part of Greece; and as the public has consequently been indebted to him for many important discoveries in illustration of its ancient history and topography, it would perhaps be ungrateful to accuse him of indolence, or want of enterprise; but he cannot so easily be excused for having omitted to cite the ancient authorities in any of those very numerous passages of his works in which he had recourse to them, as the omission

renders it often difficult to judge of the accuracy of his conclusions.

The researches of Stuart and Chandler upon the topography of Athens have cleared up much that had been left obscure and faulty by Spon and Wheler, and in some instances Chandler's superior learning enabled him to correct the mistaken impressions of Stuart; but others he has left uncorrected, and he has added many errors and negligences of his own, as well in the application of ancient evidence, as in the actual state of the ruined buildings.

The changes which occurred in the state of Athens, between the Venetian siege and the time of Chandler, were so small that Chandler found it sufficient for the explanation of his topography to insert a copy of the plan of Athens, published by Fanelli from the Venetian engineers.

The alterations produced in the half century which has elapsed since the visit of Chandler have been more considerable. Five years afterwards, the descent of the Albanians into Greece, which followed the insurrection excited in the Moréa, by the Russians, obliged the Athenians to surround their city with a wall. In this operation the two Ionic columns belonging to the frontispiece of the aqueduct of Hadrian, at the foot of Mount Anchesmus, were de-

molished, and its inscribed architrave was placed over the neighbouring gate of the modern walls. The temple of Triptolemus, designed by Stuart, and found by Chandler somewhat impaired, with one of the columns prostrate, has suffered the further destruction which Chandler predicted, nothing but the site and part of the pavement being now apparent[1]. Several other remains dispersed about the town have been taken away by travellers, whose eager desire to possess some specimen of Athenian art, will always find the means of gratification as long as Athens is in the hands of the Turks; nor can it be doubted that these barbarians will make use of the ancient materials as often as they have need of lime or stone for the construction or repair of their buildings.

It would be highly unjust, however, to accuse the Turks alone as the cause of the dilapidation of the ancient works of Greece. The same motives of destruction had been in operation many centuries before they set foot in Greece; and although the Greeks have always entertained some degree of respect for the works of

[1] The original cause of its destruction was a mass according to the Latin rites, celebrated in the temple, then a Greek church of the Panaghía, by the Marquis de Nointel, in 1674. The Greeks having desecrated the church in consequence, it fell into neglect and gradual dilapidation.

their illustrious ancestors, it cannot be doubted that this respect has often given way to the claims of temporary convenience. There is scarcely a village in Greece that does not bear marks of having been built or repaired with the materials of ancient edifices.

The squared blocks of the ancient walls furnished convenient materials to the modern mason: while the fine marbles, employed by the ancients for their sculpture, or for the more decorative parts of their architecture, supplied him with a choice substance for his cement or coatings. It cannot be doubted that many works of ancient sculpture have in this manner disappeared, and the same cause of destruction is still in active operation[1].

In those cities which have never ceased to be inhabited, the remains of antiquity have been continually disturbed for purposes of modern construction. Those towns also where the chief population of the district has established itself at no great distance from the ancient site,

[1] It frequently happens indeed that the wrought stones of the ancients are too massy for the artisans of the present day, who find it more convenient to resort to the native quarry than to remove the ancient materials; but the magnitude of the masses has not always saved them, for in several places I have seen masons breaking up the finished materials of the ancients into smaller rude lumps, for the convenience of transportation.

have been scarcely less liable to have their materials removed for the same uses. The ancient cities therefore which, having been abandoned or reduced to a very small population at an early period, have at the same time been at too great a distance from any modern town to be largely resorted to for materials, are those which are most likely still to preserve valuable remains of antiquity below the surface of the soil[1].

[1] Perhaps the reader will not be displeased if I take this opportunity of naming the places which appeared to me to be most remarkably in the latter predicament. In the Peloponnesus were Corone (at the modern Petalídhi) Messene, Thuria, the city of the Tænarii, or Cænepolis of the Eleuthero Lacones, (at seven or eight miles to the north-west of Cape Matapán), Gythium, Amyclæ, Prasiæ, Thyræa, Asine of Argolis, Hermione, Trœzen, Epidaurus, Phlius, Mantineia, Megalopolis, Orchomenus, Clitor, Phigalia, Psophis, Elis, Dyme, Pallene, Sicyon. Beyond the Isthmus were Eleusis, and many others of the Demi of Attica, Eretria, Histiæa, and several other cities of Eubœa, Platæa, Tanagra, Thespiæ, Cyrrha, Haliartus, Coroneia, Chæroneia, Orchomenus, Opus, Elateia, Thronium, Heracleia of Mount Œta. To these may be added many cities in Thessaly, Epirus, Acarnania, Ætolia, and Macedonia, particularly the following:—In Thessaly, Thebæ Phthioticæ, Pagasæ, Demetrias, Metropolis, Pelinnæum, Gomphi, and Cyretiæ. In Epirus, Phœnice, Gytanæ, Pandosia, Cichyrus, Cassope, and Passaron. In Acarnania, Argos Amphilochicum, Thyrea, Stratus, and the city of the Æniadæ; and in Ætolia, Thermus, and Calydon. In all these places the state of the soil appears to indicate that the sites have been little disturbed since the

But the ἄλσῃ, or sacred groves, which were purposely removed from the ordinary habitations of men, in sequestered valleys or mountain solitudes, where sumptuous temples were filled or surrounded with the statuary works of the first masters[1]; these, above all, are the situations where the ancient works of art have not only been better preserved from the spoliations of latter times, but where they were originally more abundant than in any other places, except in cities of the first rank.

The sea-coast has generally been unfavourable to the preservation of remains of antiquity, on account of the facility of transporting the materials by water to other places near the coast, where new buildings were erected. Many modern towns, churches, and monasteries, have thus been built or repaired at the expense of the

respective places fell to ruins, and to promise a rich harvest of ancient remains.

[1] It is hardly necessary to name Olympia, Delphi, Nemea, and the Isthmus, as places to which I particularly allude. To these may be added the Grove of the Muses on Mount Helicon, the sanctuaries of Jupiter and of Despœna in Arcadia, the Heræum of Argolis, the Hierum of Epidauria, the oracular fane of Apollo in Mount Ptous, the temples of Minerva Itonia in Bœotia and in Thessaly, Actium, Dodona, and many insulated temples in various parts of the country, the sites of which are certainly known, though little now remains of their buildings above ground.

ruined cities on the coast, which have greatly suffered also from the spoliation or wanton violence of the Turks, Genoese, Venetians, French, and other nations, who have carried on war or commerce in the Grecian seas during the last eight centuries.

In some instances the magnitude of the ancient city has been such, that its materials are not yet exhausted, even although placed in a situation very much exposed to modern depredations. Such are Sparta and Tegea, which, although they have served for ages as quarries to the neighbouring towns of Mistrá and Tripolítza, yet still retain numerous remains of antiquity below the surface.

But above all the cities of Greece, Athens, although it has never ceased to be a large inhabited place, still affords the best prospect of discoveries interesting to the artist and antiquary. Here every fragment that is found bears testimony to the pre-eminent taste and skill of the ancient people; and although the buildings of the modern town forbid researches throughout a great part of the site, all the southern and western parts of the Asty, the suburbs of the Gardens and of Agræ, the Longomural town, and the entire Peiraic city are open to the labours of the excavator. If the present state of the citadel precludes the pos-

sibility of exploring that fertile mine, we have at least the consolation of reflecting, that the buildings which encumber the site will preserve whatever works of the ancients may remain, until a better fortune shall revisit Greece; for it can hardly be doubted, that several fine specimens of ancient sculpture are buried under the modern buildings. The frequent ruin of those buildings, caused by the slightness of their construction, has been continually accumulating the soil above the ancient platform of the Acropolis ever since the beginning of the seventh century, at which period we know that the platform still supported some of the statues which had stood there for a thousand years.

But, although the present condition of Greece may render it difficult to make researches in some of the most interesting spots, the same difficulty does not occur with regard to the sites of cities or temples, which are now only occupied by the shepherd, or the cultivator of the soil. The Turks have seldom shown much repugnance to such undertakings, when proper measures have been taken to obtain their previous consent; and every nation in civilized Europe is interested in the acquisition, by any one nation, of those works which, in proving the superiority of the ancients in some par-

ticular branches of art, afford us at the same time the means of imitating them.

Nor ought that superiority to excite in the modern artist sentiments of jealousy or of despair. In accounting for it, something may perhaps be attributed to the more acute perceptions, to the more beautiful forms and colours of animate and inanimate nature, and to the brighter skies of a southern climate. Something more may be ascribed to circumstances from which we are happy to be exempt; such as the eager collision of rivalry between small independent states, the stimulus given to the imagination, and the encouragement afforded to the display of its powers, by an absurd but elegant superstition; to which we may add, the insecurity of life and property, and the frequent exercise of unruly passions, arising from the imperfection of political and religious institutions, circumstances which, however hostile to individual happiness, have always been found favourable to the poetry of the arts of design, as well as to the poetry of language.

Much of the superiority of the ancients in art may undoubtedly be attributed to these circumstances; but their chief causes are within the reach of every modern nation. These were profound study, a gradual melioration of style and execution, and a long experience, begin-

ning where the experience of another more ancient people ended, and which finally led, after a succession of trials and improvements during several centuries, to the productions of the age of Pericles.

Of the three great branches of art in which the ancients peculiarly excelled, little can be expected at this distance of time in the more perishable art of painting. Some new proofs may perhaps yet reach us of their being at least our equals in *design;* but in the other attributes of painting, the amount of their proficiency will probably ever remain problematical.

In the department of the statuary, although modern Europe has produced many fine works since the revival of the arts in Italy, it will hardly be denied that the discovery of some of the works of the great masters of the fifth and fourth centuries before the Christian æra, would add infinitely to our materials for the improvement of sculpture. When we consider, that, although we have many examples of the astonishing perfection which the ancients attained in smaller works, such as bronzes, coins, and gems, we have scarcely any undoubted originals of human or colossal size, belonging to those favoured ages, with the exception of the marbles of the Æginetan and Athenian temples,

it must be allowed that the discovery of some of those numerous works of the ancient masters, which were still untouched in the second century of the Christian æra, and probably much later, would be the most interesting event that could occur to sculpture.

But it is particularly in architecture that we need the guidance of the Greeks. By following the modern Italians, who took for their models corrupted Roman imitations of Greek architecture, a style was introduced into England, which, having prevailed for about two centuries, has not been much corrected in the course of the half century during which we have enjoyed a knowledge of the genuine architecture of the Greeks, by the drawings which have been published of the antiquities of Athens, Ionia, Magna Græcia, and Sicily.

The more we examine the buildings of the ancients, the stronger do the proofs appear of that profound study which they bestowed upon this most useful and ornamental of arts. Nor is their taste and judgment less conspicuous in the application of their rules according to circumstances of place and occasion; a branch of the art, which some recent examples show to be not less difficult than the rules themselves.

THE

TOPOGRAPHY OF ATHENS.

THE

TOPOGRAPHY OF ATHENS,

WITH

SOME REMARKS UPON ITS ANTIQUITIES.

SECTION I

The Description of Athens by Pausanias.

As the only detailed description of ancient Athens is found in the work of Pausanias, I shall begin by submitting to the reader a translation of all his information upon the topography of the city;—retaining his more important remarks upon the buildings, monuments, and works of art, but omitting the greater part of the history or mythology which he has introduced.

After having described the remains of the maritime city, Pausanias speaks of the two roads, which led from thence to Athens, in the following terms:

"In the road which leads to the city from Cap. I.

Cap. 1. Phalerum there is a temple of Juno, without doors, and without a roof. It is said to have been burnt by Mardonius, son of Gobrias[1]. The statue which it now contains is said to be the
Cap. 2. work of Alcamenes. At the entrance into the city is the tomb of Antiope the Amazon. The Athenians possess likewise a tomb of Molpadia[2].

"In the ascent from Piræeus are the ruins of the walls built by Conon, after the sea-fight at Cnidus; for the walls of Themistocles, built after the departure of the Medes, were destroyed under the government of the men called The Thirty. The most illustrious tombs on the road are those of Menander, son of Diopeithes, and of Euripides, the latter of which is empty, Euripides having been buried in Macedonia. Near the gates is a monument, upon which is the statue of a soldier standing by a horse. Who it is I know not; but Praxiteles made both the horse and the soldier.

[1] Pausanias (Phocic. c. 35.) again mentions this half-burnt temple on the Phaleric road (ἐπὶ ὁδῷ τῇ Φαληρικῇ.)

[2] It appears from Pausanias (in this place, and in c. 15.) to have been the Athenian tradition that Antiope was brought to Athens by Theseus, when he made war upon the Amazones, in company with Hercules, and took Themiscyra on the Thermodon. When the Amazones invaded Attica, Antiope was slain by an arrow from Molpadia, and Molpadia was slain by Theseus.

"Entering the city, the first object that occurs is a building set apart for the equipment of certain processions, some of which occur every year, and others at longer intervals[1]. Adjacent to it is a temple of Ceres, containing statues[2] of Ceres, of Proserpine, and of Cap. 2.

[1] By the latter, Pausanias seems to allude to the greater Panathenæa, which were celebrated every fifth year. The Πομπεῖα, or vases of gold and silver used in the sacred processions, (Meurs. Attic. Lect. l. 2. c. 15.) were kept in this building, which itself also bore the name of Pompeium, and contained a brazen statue of Socrates, by Lysippus, (Diogen. Laert. in Socrat.) a picture of Isocrates, (Plutarch. de X Rhet. in Isocrat.) and the portraits of certain comedians by Craterus.—(Plin. Nat. Hist. l. 35. c. 11.) At the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, the vases, together with the Persian spoils, were valued at 500 talents, (Diod. Sic. l. 12. c. 40.) They were renewed out of the property of the Thirty Tyrants, (Philochor. ap. Harpocrat. in Πομπεῖα) and again by Lycurgus, son of Lycophron, (Plutarch. de X Rhet. in Lycurg.) and again by Androtion, (Demosth. adv. Androt.) Alcibiades was accused of applying some of them to his own use. (Plutarch. in Alcib.—Andocid. cont. Alcib.)

[2] It may be right to remark, in entering upon this description of Athens, that Pausanias has four words to express our words *statue, image, figure,* namely, ἄγαλμα, ξόανον, ἀνδριὰς and εἴκων—the two former applicable to gods, or deified or ideal persons, the two latter to portraits of men. Ξόανον, though employed by Strabo (p. 396) in speaking of one of the most celebrated works of Phidias in marble, is reserved by Pausanias exclusively for statues in wood: εἴκων is the only general word applicable to figures of animated

Cap. 2. Iacchus holding a torch. It is written on the wall, in Attic letters, that these statues are the works of Praxiteles. Near the temple of Ceres is a Neptune on horseback, hurling his spear at the giant Polybotes; but the inscription which is now upon the statue ascribes it to another, and not to Neptune. Before the porticoes, (στοάι) which lead from the city gates to the Cerameicus, are several images in brass of illustrious men and women. One of the porticoes contains certain temples of the gods, the gymnasium of Mercury, and the house of Polytion, wherein some noble Athenians are said to have

beings of every kind. When Pausanias makes mention of detached and entire statues, he joins one of the four substantives above-mentioned to the verbs ἵστημι, κεῖμαι: in speaking of works in relief (which he sometimes calls τύποι) he employs the verb ἐπεργάζομαι or ἐπεξεργάζομαι. Paintings are always described by γράφω, and its derivatives; ποιῶ is applied to all the arts, to poetry, painting, and sculpture.—Νάος is a closed building, or temple properly so called, but ἱερὸν, (a sanctuary of any kind,) is also frequently used by Pausanias, in speaking of a building which we know to have been a νάος, as of the temples of Theseus and of Mars, at Athens, and of Ceres, at Phalerum; of the temple of Jupiter Panhellenius, in Ægina; of the temple of Latona, at Argos, &c. So that in Pausanias ἱερὸν, without any other designation, may generally be taken in the same sense as νάος, and the more so as he has the expressions, ἱερὸν τέμενος, and ἱερὸς περίβολος, to describe sanctuaries where there was no νάος, or where the νάος is not particularly referred to.

imitated the Eleusinian ceremony[1]. The house Cap. 2.
is now sacred to Bacchus, who is surnamed Melpomenus, for the same reason that Apollo is called Musagetes. Here are statues of Minerva Pæonia, of Jupiter, of Mnemosyne, of the Muses, and of Apollo; the last of which is the work and dedication of Eubulides. Here also is seen the face of Acratus, one of the companions of Bacchus, projecting from the wall. Near this building is another containing images in clay, which represent Amphictyon, king of the Athenians, entertaining Bacchus and the other gods. Here is also Pegasus of Eleutheræ, who introduced the worship of Bacchus among the Athenians.

"The quarter called Cerameicus receives its Cap. 3.
name from the hero Ceramus[2], who is said to have been the son of Bacchus and Ariadne. The first object on the right is the Stoa Basileius, where the (Archon called) Βασιλεὺς holds

[1] Pausanias here alludes to Alcibiades, and his companions, who were accused of having privately represented in derision the Eleusinian mysteries. Thucyd. l. 6, c. 27.—Plutarch in Alcib.—Plato, in Phædr.—Andocides de Mysteriis.

[2] The Greeks were fond of tracing their names of places to heroes: but Herodotus, (l. 5, c. 88.) in alluding to the Athenian *pottery* manufactured for exportation in very ancient times, suggests a more probable derivation of Cerameicus than that given by Pausanias.

Cap. 3. his court[1]. His office, called Βασίλεια, lasts for one year. Upon the roof of this Stoa are statues of baked earth, representing Theseus throwing Scyron into the sea, and Aurora carrying away Cephalus. Near the same Stoa stand statues of Conon, of his son Timotheus, of Evagoras king of Cyprus, of Jupiter Eleutherius, and of the Emperor Hadrian[2]. Behind it is another Stoa, which contains paintings of the gods, called the Twelve, and other paintings on the further side, of Theseus, Democracy, and the People, signifying that Theseus first esta-

[1] Before the Stoa Basileius was a brazen statue of Pindar, wrapt in a cloak, and seated in a chair, with an open book lying upon his knees. Æschin. in Epist. 4.

[2] The statue of Conon was of brass, (Demosth. Orat. in Leptin.) and the others were probably of the same material. The statue of Jupiter Eleutherius gave name to the portico, which was adjacent to it, and which follows next in the description of Pausanias. (Harpocrat. in Βασίλειος Στόα. Plato in Theagen. Xenoph. in Œconom.) Jupiter Eleutherius was also called Jupiter Soter. (Isocrat. in Evagor. Hesychius in Ἐλευθέριος. Menander ap. Harpocrat. in Ἐλευθ.) He was erected after the Persian war. (Aristid. in Panathen.) The proximity of the Royal and Eleutherian stoæ is confirmed by Harpocration (in Βασίλειος Στόα,) and by Hesychius (in eâdem voce,) and that of the portico of Jupiter Eleutherius, and the Pompeium, by Diogenes Laertius (in Diogen. Cynic.) Shields of distinguished warriors were hung up in the portico of Jupiter Eleutherius. They were carried off by the soldiers of Sylla. (Pausan. Attic. c. 26. Phocic. c. 21.)

blished equal rights of citizenship among the Athenians. There is also a picture[1] of the exploits performed near Mantineia, by the Athenians who were sent to assist the Lacedæmonians. Xenophon and others have described the whole war. There is a battle of horsemen in the picture, in which Gryllus, son of Xenophon, is the leading figure among the Athenians, and Epaminondas in the Bœotian cavalry. Euphranor made these pictures for the Athenians[2]; and he made also the statue of the god in the neighbouring temple of Apollo Patrous. Before the same temple are two other statues of Apollo, one of which is by Leochares, and the other by Calamis. The latter is surnamed Alexicacus, which name it is said to have received because Apollo, by means of the oracle of Delphi, put a stop to the plague which seized the Athenians in the Peloponnesian war[3]. Here also is a temple of the Mother of the Gods[4], Cap. 3.

[1] This picture is again mentioned by Pausanias in Arcad. c. 9.

[2] These pictures by Euphranor, in the Stoa Eleutherius, were much celebrated. Plutarch. de Glor. Athen.—Plin. Nat. Hist. l. 35. c. 11.

[3] See also Pausan. Arcad. c. 41. Neoptolemus, son of Nicocles, was honoured with a statue in the Agora, because he had covered the altar of Apollo with gold. Plutarch. de X Rhet. in Lycurg.

[4] The Metroum served also as a place of deposit for the

Cap. 3. whose statue was wrought by Phidias; and near it[1] is the Βουλευτήριον, or council-house of those called the five hundred, who form the yearly council of the Athenians. The building contains a wooden image of Jupiter Bulæus[2], an Apollo by Peisias, and a statue of the Athenian people by Lyson. Protogenes of Caunus painted the Thesmothetæ. Olbiades, son of Callippus, was he who led the Athenians to Thermopylæ to protect Greece against the in-

Cap. 5. vasion of the Gauls[3]. Near the council-house

archives and written laws of the state. (Athen. l. 5. c. 14. l. 9. c. 17. Liban. in Declam. 13, 16. Diogen. Laert. in Epicur. Suidas in Μητραγύρτης, Harpocrat. in Μητρῶον.) And it was the tribunal of the first Archon or Archon Eponymus. (Suidas in Ἄρχων.) It once contained a brazen statue of a young woman, three feet high, called the Ὑδροφόρος, because it had been dedicated by Themistocles when he held the office of ὑδάτων ἐπιστάτης. The statue was carried by Xerxes to Sardes, where Themistocles afterwards saw it. (Plutarch in Themist.)

[1] Æschines (in Ctesiph. p. 576, Reiske.) also observes that the Metroum was near the senate-house. And, according to Arrian, (l. 3. c. 16.) it was over-against the statues of Harmodius and Aristogeiton.

[2] In the senate-house there was also a chapel dedicated to Jupiter Bulæus and Minerva Bulæa, (Antiphon περὶ χορευτοῦ,) and a statue or altar of Vesta Bulæa. (Plutarch. de X Rhet. in Isocrat. Dinarchus ap. Harpocrat. in Βουλαία.)

[3] This event is related at length in the Phocics. c. 19, et seq.

of the five hundred is a building called Tholus, Cap. 5.
where the Prytanes sacrifice[1], and where are some small silver images of the gods. Higher up are statues of the heroes, who gave name to Athenian tribes. These Eponymi, for so they are called, are Hippothoon, son of Neptune, and of Alope, daughter of Cercyon; Antiochus, son of Hercules by Meda, daughter of Phylas; Ajax, son of Telamon, and the following Athenians: Leos, who, in obedience to the divine oracle, gave up his daughters for the common safety; Erechtheus, who defeated the Eleusinii in battle and slew their leader Immaradus, son of Eumolpus; Ægeus; Œneus, bastard son of Pandion; Acamas, son of Theseus; Cecrops, and Pandion[2]. To these ten ancient Eponymi Attalus the Mysian, and Ptolemæus the Egyptian, have been added, and in my time the Emperor Hadrian. Next to the statues of the Cap. 8.
Eponymi are those of Amphiaraus, and of Peace[3], bearing her son Plutus; of Lycurgus,

[1] The Prytanes, or tribe of the council of five hundred in office, dined here every day, as well as sacrificed. Pollux. l. 8. c. 15. (Harpocrat. et Suidas in Θόλος.) The Tholus was also called Scias. (Suidas in Σκιάς. Ammonius ap. Harpocrat. in Θόλος.)

[2] Pausanias here expresses a doubt, whether it was the first or second kings of the names of Cecrops and Pandion, who had the honour of being Eponymi.

[3] This statue was the work of Cephisodotus of Athens.

Cap. 8. son of Lycophron, in brass; of Callias, who, as most of the Athenians say, made peace with Artaxerxes, son of Xerxes; and of Demosthenes[1]. Near the last is the temple of Mars, where are two statues of Venus, a statue of Mars by Alcamenes, a Minerva by Locrus of Paros, and a Bellona by the sons of Praxiteles. Around the temple stand Hercules, Theseus, Apollo, having his head bound with a riband; Calades, who is said to have written laws for the Athenians, and Pindar, who, having praised the Athenians, received this and other rewards from them. Near these stand Harmodius and Aristogeiton, who slew Hipparchus. Some of these statues of men are made by Critias, but the most ancient are the work of Antenor. These Xerxes, when he took Athens, and when the Athenians abandoned the city, carried away with him as spoils. They were afterwards sent back to the Athenians by Antiochus[2].

See Bœot. c. 16. where Pausanias commends the wisdom of the artist in making wealth the child of peace. Cephisodotus was brother to the wife of Phocion. (Plutarch. in Phoc.)

[1] According to the biographer of the ten orators this statue was the work of Polyeuctes, and stood near the altar of the twelve gods. (Plut. de X Rhet. in Demosth.)

[2] It appears that there were two sets of statues of Harmodius and Aristogeiton; the more ancient made by Antenor, the others, made to supply the place of the former, by Praxiteles. (Compare this passage of Pausanias with Plin. Nat.

"Before the entrance of the theatre called Odeium, are statues of the Ptolemæi kings of Egypt, namely, the son of Lagus, who received the surname of Soter from the Rhodians; Philadelphus (whom I have already mentioned among the Eponymi) together with his sister Arsinoe; and Philometor, the eighth in succession from the son of Lagus, together with his only legitimate daughter Berenice: both the latter are in brass. Next to the Egyptians are Philip, king of Macedonia, and his son Alexander; and Lysimachus, who was of Macedonian origin, and the spear-bearer of Alexander: Cap. 8. Cap. 9. Cap. 11.

Hist. l. 34. c. 8.) These statues were of brass, (Arrian. l. 3. c. 16, l. 7. c. 19.—Plutarch de X Rhet. in Antiphon.) Pausanias here says they were restored to Athens by Antiochus; but Valerius Maximus (l. 2. c. 10.) gives this honour to Seleucus, and Arrian (ibid.) and Pliny (l. 34. c. 8.) to Alexander the Great. The order may perhaps have been given by Alexander, and executed by one of his successors. We learn from Arrian (ibid.) that, among the statues restored to Athens upon the same occasion, was a Diana, surnamed Κερχαΐα. Near the Harmodius and Aristogeiton were erected gilded statues of Antigonus and Demetrius mounted in a chariot, (Diodor. Sicul. l. 20. c. 46.) and brazen statues of Brutus and Cassius. (Dion Cass. l. 47. c. 20.) The varying policy of the Athenians towards the family of Antigonus, and the speedy ascendancy of the enemies of Brutus and Cassius, are circumstances sufficient to account for the silence of Pausanias concerning these statues, which probably no longer existed in his time.

Cap. 14. there is also a statue of Pyrrhus, son of Æacides. In the entrance of the Odeium, among other things, is a statue of Bacchus worthy of inspection. Near this place is a fountain called Enneacrunus, (fountain of nine pipes) constructed in this manner by Pisistratus. There are wells in every part of Athens, but this is the only fountain[1]. Above it are two temples, one of which is dedicated to Ceres and Proserpine; in the other is a statue of Triptolemus, of whom I will relate what is reported. * * * While intending to proceed further in this matter, as well as in an explanation relative to the Athenian temple called Eleusinium[2], I was deterred from it by a vision in my sleep. I return, therefore, to those things which it is lawful for all persons to speak of. In front of the temple, where is the statue of Triptolemus, are a brazen ox, prepared for sacrifice, and a sitting statue of Epimenides of Gnossus. Still farther on is the temple of Eucleia, dedicated in honour of the

[1] Pausanias means the only fountain of sweet water; for he afterwards mentions two other fountains, which were of water not potable.

[2] The same temple of Ceres and Proserpine just mentioned by Pausanias. It was called Eleusinium, because the lesser Eleusinian mysteries were celebrated in it. Dacira, mother of Eleusis, and Immaradus, son of Eumolpus, were said to be buried in the Eleusinium. Clem. Alexand. Cohort. ad Gent. Arnob. adv. Gent. l. 6.

victory gained over the Medes, who landed in the district of Marathon. Cap. 14.

" Above the Cerameicus, and the Stoa called Basileius, is the temple of Vulcan. I was not surprised at seeing a statue of Minerva, standing by that of the god[1], knowing what is said concerning Erichthonius[2]. Observing the blue (γλαυκοὺς) eyes of Minerva, I recognized the mythology of the Libyans, according to whom Minerva is the daughter of Neptune and of the lake Tritonis[3], whence she has blue eyes like those of Neptune. Near the temple of Vulcan is the temple of Venus Urania, where still remains a statue in Parian marble, the work of Pheidias[4].

" In approaching the Stoa, which is called Pœcile, from its pictures, there is a brazen image Cap. 15.

[1] This was probably the celebrated Vulcan of Alcamenes, (Cicero de Nat. Deor. l. 1. c. 30. Valer. Max. l. 8. c. 11.) The temple is called by Plato (in Critia) the temple of Vulcan and Minerva, Ἀθηνᾶς Ἡφαίστου τε ἱερὸν.

[2] See Apollodorus, l. 3. c. 14. The sequel of this strange fable is, that Minerva took charge of Erichthonius, and delivered him, during her absence from Athens, to the care of the daughters of Cecrops. The well-known event is stated by Pausanias a little further on.

[3] See Herod. l. 4. c. 180.

[4] It was probably in this temple of Venus that Zeuxis had dedicated his celebrated picture of Love, crowned with roses. Aristoph. Acharn. v. 957. et Schol. ibid.

Cap. 15. of Mercury, surnamed Agoræus[1], near a gate upon which is a trophy erected by the Athenians, when victorious in an equestrian combat over Pleistarchus, who commanded the cavalry and foreign troops of his brother Cassander. The first picture[2] represents the Athenians and Lacedæmonians opposed to each other at Œnoe of Argolis, not in the height of action, or exhibiting any great actions of valour, but just entering into battle, and beginning to engage hand to hand. In the middle wall are Theseus and the Athenians fighting against the Amazones; next to which are the Greeks who have taken Ilium, and their kings are assembled to consult about the violation of Cassandra by Ajax. Ajax appears in the picture, and Cassandra, together with other female captives. The extremity of the painting represents the battle of Marathon, where all the Attic troops, together with the Bœotians of Platæa, are fighting hand to hand with the barbarians. Here the contest is equal, but beyond, the barbarians

[1] This Mercury was also called Hermes at the Gate. Harpocrat. in Ἑρμῆς ἐπὶ τῇ πυλίδι.

[2] These pictures were by Polygnotus, Micon, and Panœnus, or Pantœnus, brother or nephew of Phidias. (Plutarch in Cimon. Diogen. Laert. in Zenon. Plin. l. 35. c. 9. Aristoph. Lysistrat. v. 681. Ælian. Hist. Animal. l. 7. c. 28. Pausan. Eliac. c. 11) There was also a picture by Pam-

are flying and driving one another into the marsh; and on the margin of the painting are the Phœnician ships, and the Greeks slaying the barbarians, who are throwing themselves on board. The hero Marathon, from whom the place receives its name, is represented, and Theseus as if rising out of the earth; Minerva also, and Hercules, (for the Marathonii say that they were the first to worship him as a god;) among the combatants the most conspicuous are the polemarch Callimachus; Miltiades, one of the commanders, and the hero Echetlus, of whom I shall make mention hereafter[1]. In the Pœcile Cap. 15.

philus of Alcmena and the Heraclidæ, imploring the assistance of the Athenians against Eurysthenes. (Aristoph. Plut. v. 370. et Schol.) The head of Butes, appearing from behind a rock, was seen in one of the pictures, probably that of the Amazones, whence the proverb θᾶττον ἢ Βούτης. (Hesych. et Suid. in voc.) Lucian (in Demonact.) speaks of a brazen statue of Cynægeirus, without hands, in the Pœcile. The Stoa Pœcile was more anciently called Stoa Peisianactius. (Diog. Laert. in Zen. Plutarch in Cimon. Suidas in Στόα.) The sect of Stoics was formed in the Pœcile. (Diog. Laert. in Zen.)

[1] Namely, in his chapter upon Marathon, Attic. c. 22. A dog which had accompanied one of the soldiers to Marathon, was introduced into the picture of the battle. (Ælian. Hist. Anim. l. 7. c. 28.) And it appears that among the portraits of the Athenian commanders was that of the poet Æschylus, whom we know to have been engaged in this action. (Vita Æschyli. Athen. l. 14. c. 6. Pausan. Attic. c. 14.)

Cap. 15. are also brazen shields, on some of which are inscriptions, signifying that they were taken from the Scionæi and their allies; others, which are covered with pitch to preserve them from the injuries of time, and from rust, are said to be the shields of the Lacedæmonians, who were
Cap. 16. captured in the island of Sphacteria. In front of the Stoa is a brazen statue of Solon, who wrote laws for the Athenians; a little beyond which is another statue in brass of Seleucus[1].

"In the Agora[2], together with some things which are not interesting to all persons[3], there is an altar of Pity[4], (ἐλέου) to whom the Athenians alone of all the Greeks give divine honours. They have likewise altars of Modesty (αἰδοῦς), Fame (φήμης), and Impetuosity (ὁρμῆς).

[1] Seleucus Nicator, with whose history Pausanias occupies the remainder of this chapter.

[2] The Agora of the time of the Roman empire was in a quarter called Eretria. . . . . τῆς Ἀθήνησιν Ἐρετρίας ἣ νῦν ἐστὶν ἀγορά. Strabo, p. 447.

[3] One of the things here alluded to was probably the statue of the Roman Sophist Lucius Egnatius Victor Lollianus, whom we know from his biographer Philostratus to have had a statue in the Agora. There was also an altar of Jupiter Agoræus in the Agora. (Hesych. in Ἀγοραίους.)

[4] The Athenians were much celebrated among foreigners, for this altar of Compassion. Philostrat. in Polluc. Apollodor. l. 3. c. 8. Diodor. Sicul. l. 13. c. 22. Statii Theb. l. 12. v. 500. Claudian de Bell. Gildon.

"In the Gymnasium, which is not far from the Agora, and which is called Ptolemæum from its founder, are Hermæ[1] of stone worthy of inspection, a brazen image of Ptolemæus, and other statues of Juba the Libyan, and of Chrysippus of Soli. Cap. 17.

"Near the Gymnasium is the temple of Theseus[2]. Here are pictures, one of which represents the battle of the Athenians with the Amazones. The same subject is represented upon the shield of Minerva[3], and upon the base of the statue of Jupiter at Olympia[4]. There is a painting also in the temple of Theseus of the fight of the Centaurs and Lapithæ, where Theseus alone is represented as having slain a Centaur, the others being engaged in an equal combat. The picture of the third wall is not very clear

[1] Hermæ were square στήλαι, or columns, surmounted with the head of a deity, and often with a portrait. Pausan. Attic. c. 19. Arcad. c. 32. 39. The Athenians were the first who gave the name of Hermæ to statues of this kind, (Attic. c. 24.) Hipparchus erected great numbers of them with short moral precepts in verse upon them. (Plat. in Hipparch. Hesych. in Ἱππαρχεῖοι Ἑρμαῖ. Harpocrat. in Ἑρμαῖ.) Some Hermæ are still to be seen at Athens, with the names of victors in gymnic contests upon them.

[2] The vicinity of these two buildings is noticed also by Plutarch in the life of Theseus. Θησεὺς * * κεῖται ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλει παρὰ τὸ νῦν γυμνάσιον.

[3] In the Parthenon. See Pausanias (Attic. 24.) and Pliny, (l. 36. c. 5.)

[4] See Eliac. Prior. c. 11.

Cap. 17. to those who do not understand the subject, partly because it is injured by time, and partly because Micon has not expressed the whole affair. When Minos brought Theseus, and the other young men and women of Athens, to Crete, he was enraged with Theseus for opposing his love to Peribæa. Among other injuries to Theseus, Minos denied that he was the son of Neptune, asserting that Theseus could not recover a seal-ring which Minos happened to have on his finger, and which he threw into the sea. It is said that Theseus not only brought up the seal, but also a golden crown, which had been presented to him by Amphitrite. The Athenians established the sanctuary (σῆκος) of Theseus, after the Medes had been at Marathon, when Cimon, son of Miltiades, having expelled the people of Scyrus, punished them for the death of Theseus, and brought back his bones to Athens.

"The temple of the Dioscuri is ancient. Here are the two gods on foot, and their sons[1] on horseback: here also is a painting by Polygnotus, of the wedding (of the two former) with

[1] Their names were Anaxis and Mnasinous.—Pausan. Corinth. c. 22. The temple was often called Anaceium, because Castor and Pollux (the Dioscuri) were commonly called οἱ Ἄναχες by the Athenians. Plutarch in Thes.—Ælian. Var. Hist. l. 4. c. 5.—Suidas in voc.—Harpocrat. in Ἀναχεῖον et in Πολύγνωτος.

the daughters of Leucippus[1]; and another paint- Cap. 18.
ing by Micon, of those who sailed with Jason to Colchis, in which the principal figures are Acastus and his horses.

"Above the temple of the Dioscuri is the sacred inclosure (ἱερὸν τέμενος) of Aglaurus. It is said[2], that Minerva gave Erichthonius, shut up in a box, to the care of Aglaurus, and of her sisters Herse and Pandrosus, with orders to them not to examine into the contents of the box. They say that Pandrosus obeyed, but that the two other sisters having opened the box, were seized with madness upon seeing Erichthonius, and threw themselves over the most precipitous part of the Acropolis. Here the Medes ascending, slew those Athenians, who, thinking that they understood the oracle better than Themistocles, fortified the Acropolis with stakes and palisades. Near this place is the Prytaneium, where the laws of Solon are preserved in writing. Here are images of the goddesses Peace and Vesta[3], and, among other statues of

[1] Leucippus, son of Perieres, had two daughters, Hilaeira and Phœbe. The Dioscuri carried them off from Messene, and married them, Castor the former, and Pollux the latter. Apollod. l. 3. c. 10, 11.

[2] For this fable see also Antigonus Carystius, (c. 12.) who has followed Amelesagoras.

[3] The statue of Vesta was near the entrance of the Pry-

Cap. 18. men[1], that of Autolycus the pancratiast. The names on the statues of Miltiades and Themistocles have been changed into those of a Thracian and a Roman.

"In going from thence to the lower parts of the city is the temple of Serapis, whom Ptolemæus was the means of introducing among the Athenian deities. Not far from thence is the place where Theseus and Peirithous are said to have entered into an agreement to proceed to Sparta, and afterwards to Thesprotia[2]. Near this place is the temple of Lucina. The Athenians are the only people who clothe the statues of this goddess to the extremity of the feet. The women report that two of the statues in this temple are from Crete, dedicated by

taneium. (Plutarch de X Rhet. in Demosth.) A lamp, never extinguished, burnt before it. (Theocrit. Idyl. 21. v. 36. J. Poll. l. 1. c. 1.) To the right of the statue of Vesta in entering, was the statue of Democharès, son of the sister of Demosthenes, clothed, and girded with a sword. (Plutarch ubi supra.) There was also a statue of Good Fortune in the Prytaneium. (Ælian. Var. Hist. l. 9. c. 39.)

[1] It seems from Pausanias, (Attic. c. 26.) that one of these was a statue of Olympiodorus, who commanded the Athenians against Demetrius Poliorcetes and Cassander.

[2] For the purpose of carrying off Helena, daughter of Tyndarus, king of Sparta, and Persephone, daughter of Aidoneus, king of the Molossi. Plutarch in Thes. Pausan. Attic. c. 17.

Phædra, and that the third and most ancient Cap. 18.
was brought from Delus by Erysichthon[1].

"The Emperor Hadrian dedicated the temple of Jupiter Olympius, and the statue, which is remarkable, not so much for its size, (for there are other statues equal to it, and the Colossi of Rome and of Rhodes are much larger,) as from its being made of ivory and gold, and with great skill considering its magnitude[2]. Here also are other images of Hadrian; two of Thasian and two of Egyptian stone. Before the columns are brazen statues, (of Hadrian) presented by those cities which the Athenians call colonial[3]. The whole ex-

[1] Erysichthon was son of the first Cecrops, and brother of Pandrosus, Herse, and Aglaurus. He died in his father's life-time at Prasiæ, on the coast of Attica, on his return from Delus, where he had been sacrificing. Apollod. l. 3. c. 14. Phanodemus ap. Athen. l. 9. c. 11. Pausan. Attic. c. 2. 18. 31.

[2] As the words of the Greek text at the beginning of this paragraph do not make sense with what follows, they have been omitted in the translation, and some conjectures regarding them will be offered hereafter. The whole sentence is obscure in the Greek; it sufficiently appears, however, that the statue of Jupiter was colossal. This, indeed, is evident form another passage in Pausanias, (Corinth. c. 27.) where he says that the Epidaurian Æsculapius, which was a chryselephantine statue of considerable size, was half as large as the Jupiter Olympius at Athens.

[3] Here again there appear to be some words deficient in the Greek text.

Cap. 18. terior inclosure (περίβολος) is four stades in circuit, and is full of statues of Hadrian, each of the cities of Greece having dedicated one[1]; but the Athenians have greatly surpassed them all by the colossus, worthy of examination, which they have erected behind the temple. The peribolus contains the following antiquities —a Jupiter in brass, the temple of Cronus and Rhea, the temenus of Olympia[2], and a chasm in the earth one cubit in depth, through which the waters of the deluge of Deucalion are said to have run off. Into this chasm they throw every year wheaten flour, mixed with honey. There is also a statue of Isocrates upon a column, and a representation in Phrygian marble, of Persians holding a brazen tripod: both the statues and the tripod are worthy of observation. Deucalion is said to have erected the most ancient temple of Jupiter Olympius; and his tomb, which is not far distant from the present tem-

[1] For the inscriptions upon the pedestals of some of these statues, see Spon, tome 2. p. 284, and Stuart's Athens, vol. 3. c. 3.

[2] Τέμενος τὴν ἐπίκλησιν Ὀλυμπίας. This seems to be the same as the τὸ τῆς Γῆς τῆς Ὀλυμπίας mentioned by Plutarch (in Theséo), and the same also as the temple of Earth (τὸ τῆς Γῆς) which Thucydides names among the ancient temples situated in this quarter. (See p. 46. n. 1.) Pausanias therefore probably wrote τέμενος τῆς Γῆς ἐπίκλησιν Ὀλυμπίας, "the temenus of Tellus Olympia."

ple, is shown as a proof that he dwelt at Athens. Cap. 18.
Hadrian constructed also other buildings for the Athenians, namely, a temple of Juno and Jupiter Panhellenius, and a sanctuary common to all the gods. But the most illustrious of his works are a hundred and twenty columns of Phrygian stone. Attached to the porticoes are walls, in which are buildings adorned with gilded roofs and alabaster stone, and with statues and paintings: books are also deposited in this building. There is likewise a Gymnasium, called the Gymnasium of Hadrian, where are a hundred columns from the quarries of Libya.

"Near the temple of Jupiter Olympius is a Cap. 19.
statue of Apollo Pythius. There is also another sanctuary of Apollo, surnamed Delphinius[1].

"Of the quarter called Κῆποι (the *Gardens*) and of the temple of Venus nothing is related; nor of the statue of Venus, which stands near the temple, and which is of a square form like the Hermæ, but the inscription signifies that it is the statue of Venus Urania, the eldest of the Fates, (Μοιρῶν.) The statue of Venus in the Gardens is the work of Alcamenes, and is

[1] The Delphinium was founded by Ægeus, and was sacred to Apollo Delphinius, and Diana Delphinia. J. Poll. l. 8. c. 10.

Cap. 19. among the things most worthy of notice at Athens[1].

"Cynosarges is the name of a place sacred to Hercules. The story of the white bitch is known to those who are acquainted with the oracle. Here are altars of Hercules and of Hebe, daughter of Jupiter, whom they consider to be the consort of Hercules: here are also altars of Alcmene and of Iolaus, who was the companion of Hercules in most of his labours.

"The Lyceium takes its name from Lycus, son of Pandion. From the beginning it has been held sacred to Apollo, and it continues to be so to the present time. Behind the Lyceium is the monument of Nisus, who, having been slain by Minos, king of Megara, was brought and buried here by the Athenians.

"The rivers of Athens are the Eilissus, and a river of the same name as the Celtic Eridanus, which descends into the Eilissus. It is said that Oreithyia[2] was playing near the Eilissus, when she was carried off by the wind Boreas; that Oreithyia is the consort of Boreas; and

[1] This statue is mentioned also by Lucian de Imag. and by Pliny, (l. 36. c. 5.) who says that Phidias was thought to have put the finishing hand to this celebrated work of his scholar Alcamenes.

[2] Oreithyia was the daughter of king Erechtheus the Second, and sister of Procris, Creusa, and Chthonia. Apollod. l. 3. c. 15.

that, on account of this affinity, he assisted Cap. 19.
the Athenians by destroying many of the barbaric triremes. The Athenians consider the Eilissus sacred also to other deities. There is an altar on its bank to the Musæ Eilissiades. They likewise show the place where Codrus, son of Melanthus, king of the Athenians, was slain by the Peloponnesians. Beyond the river is the district called Agræ, and the temple of Diana Agrotera. Here Diana is said to have first hunted when she came from Delus, whence her statue has a bow (in the hand.)

"The stadium of white marble is wonderful to behold, and not very easy to be credited by those who only hear of it. Its magnitude may be imagined from this: it is a hill rising from the Eilissus, of a semi-circular form in the upper part, and extending from thence in a double right line to the bank of the river. It was built by the Athenian Herodes, who used a great quantity of marble from the quarries of Pentelicum in its construction.

"There is a street leading from the Pryta- Cap. 20.
neium, called Tripodes, from which the quarter takes its name. Here are * * *[1] temples of the

[1] In our copies of Pausanias, the words are ναοὶ θεῶν ἐς τοῦτο μεγάλοι, but it is more probable that he wrote οὐ μεγάλοι, not "large," but "small temples," for the latter description exactly suits one of these buildings, still existing,

Cap. 20. gods, supporting brazen tripods, which encircle some admirable works of art; among these is a Satyr, which Praxiteles considered one of his finest works[1]. In a neighbouring temple of Bacchus, there is a young Satyr extending a cup, and a Cupid and Bacchus standing together, the work of Thymilus.

"But the most ancient sanctuary of Bacchus[2] is near the Theatre: within its peribolus are two temples sacred to Bacchus, and as many statues; one of them is surnamed Eleuthereus[3],

vulgarly called the Lantern of Demosthenes, τὸ φανάρι τοῦ Δημοσθένους.

[1] It was commonly called ὁ περίβόητος. Plin. Nat. Hist. l. 34. c. 8. Pausanias here relates the celebrated stratagem of Phryne, who had received permission from her lover Praxiteles to make choice of one of his works, and who wished to discover to which of them he himself gave the preference. She raised a false alarm of his laboratory being on fire; upon which he ordered that, above all, his Cupid and his Satyr should be saved. Phryne very naturally made choice of the Cupid, as the more pleasing figure of the two. Athenæus, who relates the same story, (l. 18. c. 7.) calls the Satyr τὸν ἐπὶ τριπόδων σάτυρον, the Satyr of the Tripods.

[2] At this temple the ancient festival of the great Dionysiacs was celebrated. The peribolus with its contents was known by the name of Lenæum, and the quarter in which it stood by the name of Limnæ. Hesych. in Ἐπὶ Ληναίῳ, et in Λιμναγενές. Thucyd. l. 2. c. 15. Athen. l. 11. c. 3. Harpocrat. in Ἐν λιμν. Aristoph. Ran. v. 218. et Schol. ibid. Steph. Byzant. in Λίμναι.

[3] It was made of wood, and received its epithet from

the other, made of ivory and gold, is the work Cap. 20.
of Alcamenes. Here also are pictures representing Bacchus conducting to heaven Vulcan, whom he had intoxicated[1]; Pentheus and Lycurgus punished for their injuries to Bacchus; and Ariadne sleeping, while Theseus is seen retiring, and Bacchus approaching. Near the temple of Bacchus and the Theatre is a building said to have been made in imitation of the tent of Xerxes[2]. The ancient edifice having

its having been brought from Eleutheræ. Pausan. Attic. c. 38.

[1] Pausanias here informs us that Vulcan, in order to be revenged of Juno for turning him out of heaven, made her a present of a golden throne with hidden springs, which prevented her, after being seated upon it, from rising up again. Bacchus alone of all the gods could succeed in persuading Vulcan to liberate the queen of heaven.

[2] Plutarch, and a comic writer cited by him, give a lively description of the shape of the Odeium, near the theatre of Bacchus, in the following passage:

Τὸ δὲ Ὠδεῖον τῇ μὲν ἐντὸς πολύεδρον καὶ πολύστυλον, τῇ δ' ἐρέψει περικλινὲς καὶ κάταντες ἐκ μιᾶς κορυφῆς πεποιημένον, εἰκόνα λέγουσι γένεσθαι καὶ μίμημα τῆς βασιλέως σκηνῆς, ἐπιστατοῦντος καὶ τούτῳ Περικλέους. Διὸ καὶ πάλιν Κρατῖνος ἐν Θράτταις παίζει πρὸς αὐτὸν.

Ὁ σχινοκέφαλος Ζεὺς ὅδε προσέρχεται
Περικλέης τῳὠδεῖον ἐπὶ τοῦ κρανίου
Ἔχων ἐπειδὴ τοὔστρακον παροίχεται. Plutarch in Pericl.

The well-known deformity which tempted Cratinus, in this passage, to make the satirical comparison between the pointed cranium of Pericles, and the tent-shaped Odeium,

Cap. 20. been burnt by Sylla, commander of the Romans, when he took Athens, was afterwards
Cap. 21. built a second time[1]. The Theatre[2] contains many statues of tragic and comic poets, who,

and to call Pericles the Squill-headed Jupiter, had obliged the statuaries to cover his head with a helmet. So Plutarch informs us in the preceding passage, and so we find him represented in a bust in the British Museum.

The numerous columns of this building, remarked by Plutarch, are alluded to likewise by Theophrastus, in Caract. Περὶ ἀδολεσχίας—πόσοι εἰσὶ κίονες τοῦ Ὠδείου.

[1] According to Appian (Bell. Mithrid. c. 38.) it was burnt by Aristion, who defended Athens against Sylla, and who destroyed it, that the besiegers might not make use of the timber in assaulting the Acropolis. It was restored by Ariobarzanes, king of Cappadocia, as appears from the following passage of Vitruvius, (l. 5. c. 9.)—Patris Liberi fanum et exeuntibus e theatro sinistrâ parte, Odeium quod Pericles (*alii legunt* Themistocles) columnis lapideis, navium malis et antennis e spoliis Persicis pertexit: idem autem incensum Mithridätico bello rex Ariobarzanes restituit.

An inscription, of which a copy taken by the Consul of France in 1743, was sent to Paris, records the gratitude to Ariobarzanes of the persons who had superintended the repair of the Odeium. The prince is there surnamed Philopator, son of Ariobarzanes Philoromæus. Hence he appears to have been the son of the prince with whom Cicero describes his interview in Cappadocia. (Cicer. Ep. ad Fam. l. 15, ep. 2.)

[2] This theatre was distinguished by the name of the Dionysiac Theatre, (τὸ θέατρον τὸ Διονυσιακὸν or τὸ ἐν Διονύσου θέατρον) as being within the sacred inclosure of Bacchus.—Plutarch de X Rhet. et decr. Athen. in fin. ejusd. op. J. Poll. l. 8. c. 10.

for the most part, are of obscure reputation[1]; Cap. 21. for, of the writers of comedy, Menander is the only one who attained to glory. Here are images of the illustrious tragedians, Euripides and Sophocles; but the statue of Æschylus appears to have been made long after his death, and long after the picture, wherein the battle of Marathon is described[2].

"In the wall of the Acropolis, which is turned towards the theatre, and is called Notia, (the southern,) there is a gilded head of Medusa, and around it an ægis[3]. On the summit of the theatre is a cavern in the rocks under the Acropolis. Upon the cavern stands a tripod; within it are images of Apollo and Diana destroying the children of Niobe. On the road from the theatre to the Acropolis is the tomb of Calos[4]. He was the pupil of Dæ-

[1] Dion Chrysostom (Orat. Rhod. p. 355. ed. Morell.) reproaches the Athenians with having placed the statue of an obscure poet near that of Menander.

[2] Pausanias probably means the picture of the battle of Marathon in the Pœcile, where it seems, therefore, that the portrait of Æschylus appeared among the other Athenians engaged in the action.

[3] It was dedicated by Antiochus . . . Ἀντίοχος, οὗ δὴ καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ θεάτρου τοῦ Ἀθήνησι ἡ αἰγὶς ἡ χρυσῆ καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῆς ἡ Γοργώ. Pausan. Eliac. prior. c. 12.

[4] It appears from Diodorus, (l. 4. c. 76.) from Lucian (in Piscator.) and from Apollodorus (l. 3. c. 15.) that the name of this celebrated mechanic was Talos, and not Calos.

Cap. 21. dalus, and the son of his sister[1], and was slain by Dædalus, who, in consequence of the murder, fled to Crete. The temple of Æsculapius is well worthy of remark for the statues of Bacchus and his children, and for the pictures which it contains. In the same temple is a fountain, at which Halirrhothius, son of Neptune, is reported to have been slain by Mars, for having disgraced his daughter Alcippe; and this murder is said to have been the first upon which judgment was pronounced. In the same temple there is a Sarmatian breast-plate, which shows that the barbarians are not less skilful in the arts than the Greeks[2].

Cap. 22. "Beyond the temple of Æsculapius, in the way to the Acropolis, is the temple of Themis, before which is the monument of Hippolytus. The worship of Venus Pandemus and Peitho was established by Theseus, when he collected the Athenians into one city. The ancient statues no longer remain, but those which now

[1] Her name was Perdix, (Apollod. l. 3. c. 15.) Her sanctuary was near the Acropolis. (Suidas in Πέρδικος ἱερὸν.) Perdix was sometimes confounded with Talos. See Ovid in the metamorphosis of Perdix into a partridge. Hygin. fab. 39. 274. Sophocles comic. ap. Suid. ibid.

[2] It was made of the hoofs of horses, wrought and joined together, so as to resemble the skin of a serpent. Pausanias adds some other curious observations upon the arms of the Sarmatians, who were ignorant of the use of iron.

exist are not by the most obscure artists. There Cap. 22.
is also a temple of Tellus Curotrophus and Ceres Chloe.

" There is but one entrance into the Acropolis, the hill being on every other side precipitous, and surrounded with a strong wall. The roof of the Propylæa is of white marble, and excels all other works in ornament and in the magnitude of the stones. As to the equestrian statues, I cannot positively say whether they represent the sons of Xenophon, or whether they are placed only for ornament. On the right hand of the Propylæa, (τῶν Προπυλαίων ἐν δεξιᾷ) is the temple of Victory *without wings*[1]. From thence is a prospect of the sea: and there Ægeus, seeing his son's ship return with black sails, threw himself down, and perished. His monument exists among the Athenians, and is called the heroum of Ægeus. On the left of the Propylæa (ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τῶν Προπυλαίων) is a building, containing pictures. Those which are not obliterated by time represent Diomedes, bringing from Lemnos the bow of Philoctetes; Ulysses carrying off the statue of Minerva from Troy; Orestes slaying Ægisthus, while Pylades kills the sons of Nauplius, who come to the as-

[1] Near the Temple of Victory stood a triple statue of Hecate, by Alcamenes. It was called Epipyrgidia. (Pausan. Corinth. c. 30.)

Cap. 22. sistance of Ægisthus; Polyxena about to be sacrificed at the tomb of Achilles: Achilles disguised among the virgins of Scyrus; Ulysses encountering Nausicaa, and her attendants, washing clothes at the river—the two latter by Polygnotus[1]; a picture of Alcibiades, signifying that he was victorious in a horse-race at Nemea[2]; Perseus bringing the head of Medusa to Polydectes at Seriphus; a boy carrying balloting-vases; a wrestler, by Timænetus; and Musæus, who, according to the ancient verses, of which Onomacritus appears to me to have been the author, received the gift of flying from Boreas.

"In the very entrance of the Acropolis are Mercury Propylæus, and the three Graces[3], said

[1] Pliny (Nat. Hist. l. 35. c. 11.) states the picture of Achilles at Scyrus to have been the work of Athenion of Maroneia.

[2] In this picture, which was by Aglaophon, Nemea was personified, bearing Alcibiades upon her knees. This insolent person dedicated, at the same time, a picture, by the same master, in honour of his victories at Delphi and at Olympia, in which two women, named Pythias and Olympias, were crowning him. (Athen. l. 12. c. 9.) The latter picture was perhaps among those obliterated by time.

[3] In the Bœotics, (c. 35.) Pausanias says that the three Graces by Socrates were *before* the entrance into the Acropolis, (πρὸ τῆς ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἐσόδου.) Here his words are κατὰ τὴν ἔσοδον αὐτὴν ἤδη τὴν ἐς ἀκρόπολιν. The Graces of Socrates were draped, (Pausan. Bœot. c. 35. Diogen. Laert. in Socrat.) like all the more ancient Graces. In later times the Graces were represented naked. (Pausan. ibid.)

to be the work of Socrates, son of Sophroniscus, Cap. 22.
whom the Pythian priestess declared to be the wisest of men. Here is a brazen Lioness[1] in Cap. 23.
honour of Leæna, the mistress of Aristogeiton, who was tortured to death by Hippias; beside which stands a Venus by Calamis, dedicated by Callias[2]. Near it is a brazen statue of Diitrephes, pierced with arrows[3]; and not far from the latter (for I do not wish to speak of the portrait-statues of persons of little note), are a Hygieia, called the daughter of Æsculapius, and a Minerva, surnamed Hygieia[4]. Here likewise

[1] The lioness was represented without a tongue, to commemorate the heroic act of Leæna, who bit off her tongue to defeat the inquiries of Hippias, (Plutarch de Garrul.—Plin. Nat. Hist. l. 34. c. 8.) Pliny says this statue was the work of Iphicrates. Its position near the Propylæa is marked by Plutarch, (ibid.) who says that it was ἐν πύλαις τῆς Ἀκροπόλεως.

[2] This statue of Venus, and the adjacent Lioness, probably stood in the same sanctuary; for it appears from Demochares (ap. Athen. l. 6. c. 13. Cas.) that there was a sanctuary at Athens, called τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Λεαίνης Ἀφροδίτης.

[3] For the exploits of Diitrephes, see Pausanias in this place, and Thucydides. (l. 7. c. 27. 29.)

[4] This statue was of brass, and dedicated by Pericles. A favourite workman of Mnesicles, the architect of the Propylæa, (Plutarch. in Pericl.) or a favourite slave of Pericles, (Plin. Nat. Hist. l. 22. c. 17.) having met with a bad fall, and having been despaired of by the physicians, Minerva appeared to Pericles, in a dream, and recommended a remedy, which effected a speedy cure, whereupon Pericles raised a statue of Minerva, in the character of Health, near an altar

Cap. 23. is a small stone, upon which Seilenus is said to have reposed, when Bacchus visited the earth.

"In the Acropolis of Athens I also beheld the brazen image of a boy, bearing a vessel for lustral aspersions, by Lycius, son of Myron, and Perseus slaying Medusa, by Myron himself. There is likewise a sanctuary of Diana Brauronia, with a statue by Praxiteles; and a figure in brass of the horse Durius, from which Menestheus, Teucer, and the sons of Theseus, are represented as issuing to surprise the Trojans[1]. Of the statues which stand next to the horse, that of Epicharmus prepared to run a race in armour, was made by Critias; then occurs Ænobius, who obtained a decree for the recall of Thucydides, son of Olorus, from exile, who, having been treacherously slain, is buried at the gates Melitides; then Hermolycus the pancra-
Cap. 24. tiast; and Phormio, son of Asopichus. There also is Minerva punishing the Seilenus Marsyas for taking up the flutes which she had wished to throw away[2]. Over-against these is Theseus,

of Hygieia, in the Acropolis. The remedy was said to have been a plant, which grew on the walls of the Acropolis, and which was thenceforth called Parthenium.

[1] Spears also projected from this statue of the Trojan horse, according to Hesychius (in Δούριος.)

[2] For this fable see Apollodorus, l. 1. c. 4.—Hygin. fab. 165. Stuart (Antiq. of Athens, vol. 2. p. 27.) has published a marble, found at Athens, which represents Minerva throwing away the flutes, and Marsyas about to take them up.

contending with the Minotaur; Phrixus sacri- Cap. 24.
ficing the ram, which had carried him to the Cholci, and looking at its thighs, burning upon the altar. Here also, among other statues, are Hercules strangling the serpents; Minerva rising from the head of Jupiter; and a Bull, dedicated by the council of Areiopagus. The Athenians have also a temple to the Genius of Pious Men, (σπουδαίων δαίμων.) To such persons as prefer works made with skill, to those which are remarkable for antiquity alone, the two following are worthy of observation, namely, a Man, with a helmet on his head, and with nails of silver, by Cleætas; and Earth imploring showers from Jupiter. Here also are statues of Timotheus, son of Conon, and of Conon himself; Procne and Itys, dedicated by Alcamenes; Minerva causing the olive to sprout, while Neptune raises the waves; a Jupiter, by Leochares; and another Jupiter surnamed Polieus[1].

"In entering the temple called Parthenon[2],

[1] Pausanias here, and again in c. 28. informs us, that, at the festival of Jupiter Polieus, called Diipolia, an ox was sacrificed; that the priest, who slew the ox with an axe, ran away; and that the axe was tried for the injury. The custom was as old as the reign of Erechtheus, before whose time there was a law against slaying oxen, (Varro de Re Rust. l. 2. c. 5.) derived probably from Egypt.

[2] The common appellation of the celebrated statue by

Cap. 24. all the works in the pediment (ἐν τοῖς καλουμένοις ἀετοῖς) relate to the birth of Minerva; and those behind (ὄπισθε) to the combat of Neptune and Minerva for the Attic land. The statue itself is made of ivory and gold. The figure of a sphinx occupies the summit of the helmet, on either side of which are griffins (γρῦπες[1]). The statue is erect, with a robe reaching to the feet. On the breast is a head of Medusa in ivory; in one hand is a Victory, four cubits high[2], and in

Phidias, in the great temple of Minerva, was ἡ Παρθένος, "the virgin," (see Pausan. Eliac. prior. c. 11.—Phocic. c. 34.) whence the temple was called ὁ Παρθενών, or the virgin's habitation. Hesychius indeed has said that the Parthenon received its appellation from the *virgin* daughters of Cecrops; but the Scholiast of Demosthenes (cont. Androt.) more properly remarks Παρθενῶν ναὸς ἦν ἐν τῇ Ἀκροπόλει Παρθένου Ἀθηνᾶς.

[1] The words ἐπίκειται and ἐπειργασμένοι, which, in this passage, are applied, the former to the sphinx, and the latter to the griffins, confirm the remarks upon those words in page 2; for we know from existing monuments, that the sphinx was an entire figure, and that the griffins were in relief. "Aristeas of Proconnesus (adds Pausanias in this place,) describes these animals as having the body of a lion, and the wings and beak of an eagle." Such is precisely their form on the ancient heads of Minerva.

[2] The words of Pausanias (οἱ κατὰ τὸ στέρνον ἡ κεφαλὴ Μεδούσης ἐλέφαντός ἐστιν ἐμπεποιημένη, καὶ Νίκη τε ὅσον τεσσάρων πηχῶν· ἐν δὲ τῇ χειρὶ δόρυ ἔχει, &c.) are obscure, and perhaps defective; but there can be little doubt that his meaning was that which is given in the text; for it is proved

the other a spear, near which is a serpent, supposed to represent Erichthonius. At the feet is a shield; on the pedestal the birth of Pandora is represented in relief. I recognized no other portrait-statue in the temple than that of Hadrian, and in the entrance that of Epicrates[1], Cap. 24.

from coins of Athens, that the Victory was in the goddess's hand. This is further confirmed by a passage in Epictetus, who says, ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ ἡ Φειδίου ἐκτείκασα τὴν χεῖρα καὶ τὴν Νίκην ἐπ' αὐτῆς δεξαμένη. (Arrian. in Epict. Dissert. l. 2. c. 8.) According to Pliny, (l. 36. c. 5.) the statue was 26 cubits high; and, besides the accompaniments mentioned by Pausanias, had a sphinx of brass under the spear; upon the convex side of the shield a representation of the battle of the Amazones, (see also Pausan. Attic. c. 17.) and on its concave side, the contest of the Gods and Giants; on the sandals was the battle of the Centaurs and Lapithæ. Pliny, who, in the passage referred to, states the works upon the shield to have been embossed by Phidias, (Phidias cœlavit, &c.) says in another place, (l. 35. c. 8.) that the shield was *painted* (pictum) by Phidias, and that the interior of the shield was *painted* by Pantænus, the brother of Phidias. The eyes of Minerva were of ivory, except the pupils, which were of stone. (Plato in Hipp. Maj.)

[1] Pliny (l. 35. c. 10.) says, that the Propylæum of the temple of Minerva, by which, I suppose, is meant what we generally call the Pronaus, was painted by Protogenes, who had represented the triremes Paralus and Hemionis, together with several other vessels on a smaller scale. The painting of the Paralus is praised by Cicero, (Verrin. 4. c. 60.) Within the temple were portraits of Themistocles and of Heliodorus: the former was dedicated by the sons of Themistocles, (Pausan. Attic. c. 1. 37.)

Cap. 24. the author of many admirable works. Over-against the temple is a brazen Apollo, surnamed Parnopius (the expeller of locusts), made by Phidias.

Cap. 25. "The statue of Pericles, and that of his father Xanthippus, stand in separate parts of the Acropolis: near the latter are seen Anacreon of Teos, represented as a man singing when intoxicated, and images, by Deinomenes, of Io, daughter of Inachus, and of Callisto, daughter of Lycaon; the former of whom was changed into a cow, and the latter into a bear, and both from the same cause, namely, the love of Jupiter, and the anger of Juno.

"Upon the wall called Notium are represented the war of the giants, who inhabited Thrace and Pallene, the battle of the Athenians with the Amazones, the battle of Marathon, and the destruction of the Gauls in Mysia. Each of these are three feet (in height): they

Cap. 26. were dedicated by Attalus. Here also is an image of Olympiodorus[1], near which is a brazen

[1] Olympiodorus commanded the Athenians in their contests with the Macedonians under Demetrius and Cassander. His actions are related by Pausanias at some length, in this and the following chapter. One of his exploits was to take by assault the Museium, which Demetrius had formed into a separate fortress, and had garrisoned with Macedonians. It is in relating this action that Pausanias describes

statue of Diana, surnamed Leucophryne, dedi- Cap. 26.
cated by the sons of Themistocles, for Diana Leucophryne was particularly honoured by the Magnetes, the government of whose city was given to Themistocles by the king of Persia. There is also an ancient sitting statue of Minerva, with an epigram upon it, signifying that it was the offering of Callias, and the work of Endæus, a disciple of Dædalus.

"There is a building called Erechtheium, before the entrance of which is an altar of Jupiter Hypatus; in the entrance is an altar of Neptune, (whereon sacrifices are also made by command of the oracle to Erechtheus); another altar of Butes[1]; and a third of Vulcan; and on the walls are pictures of the Butadæ[2].

the Museium as follows: "Within the ancient peribolus of the city there is a hill over-against the Acropolis, called Museium, where Musæus is said to have sung, and, dying of old age, to have been buried. Here a monument has been since erected to a certain Syrian." This Syrian, whom he does not name, was Philopappus.

[1] Butes was twin brother of Erechtheus the second, and his descendants were hereditary priests of Minerva Polias, Neptune, and Erichthonius. Apollod. l. 3. c. 15.—Hesych. et Harpocrat. in Ἐτεοβουτάδαι.

[2] Among them were portraits of the orator Lycurgus, son of Lycophron, and of his family, by Ismenias of Chalcis. There stood also in the portico wooden statues of Lycurgus and of his three sons, made by the two sons of Praxiteles. (Plutarch de X Rhet. in Lycurg.)

Cap. 26. The building is two-fold; within it is a well of salt-water[1], from whence issues a sound when the south wind blows; and upon a stone is the figure of a trident[2]: these are said to have relation to the contest of Neptune and Minerva, for the possession of Attica[3]. All the city and land is sacred to Minerva; whatever other deities may be worshipped in the demi, Minerva is no less honoured by them; but her most sacred statue is that which was a common offering of the demi, before they were collected into the city, and which is now in the Acropolis, then called Polis. It is reported to have fallen from heaven. Before the statue is a golden lamp, made by Callimachus; it has a wick of Carpasian flax, which is not consumed by fire, and it is filled with oil once a year, burning during that time night and day[4]. A brazen palm-tree, above the lamp,

[1] This was the θάλασσα Ἐρεχθήϊς, fabled to have been produced by a blow of Neptune's trident. Apollod. l. 3. c. 14. Herodot. l. 8. c. 55.

[2] Ὁρῶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν καὶ τὸ περὶ τῆς τριαίνης ἔχει τι σημεῖον. Hegesias ap. Strabon. p. 396.

[3] In memory of the amicable termination of this contest, there was an altar of Oblivion in the temple of Polias. (Plutarch. Sympos. l. 9. qu. 6.)

[4] Ἀρχαῖος νεὼς ὁ τῆς Πολιάδος, ἐν ᾧ ὁ ἄσβεστος λύχνος. Strabo, p. 396. The Carpasian flax was made of the stone called Amiantus, produced in Carpasus, a city of Cyprus.

reaches to the roof, and carries off the smoke. Cap. 26.
In the temple of Polias[1] is a wooden Hermes, Cap. 27.
said to have been presented by Cecrops, and now almost hidden by branches of myrtle. The other offerings most worthy of mention are a folding chair, made by Dædalus; and some spoils of the Medes[2], namely, the breast-plate of Masistius, who commanded the cavalry at Platææ, and a scimitar, said to be that of Mardonius[3]. Concerning the olive-tree, no-

Aristion, when besieged in Athens by Sylla, allowed the flame to expire, for which he was not less detested than for his acts of cruelty, and for his fatal policy in opposing the Romans. (Plutarch in Sylla.)

[1] Pausanias omits to notice the sacred serpent of the Erechtheium, (Herod. l. 8. c. 41.—Plutarch in Themist. et in Demosth.—Philostr. Icon. l. 2.—Hesych. in Οἰκουρον.—Etymol. Mag. in Δράκαυλος) which his contemporary, Philostratus, shows to have been still an inhabitant of the temple in his time.

[2] Demosthenes mentions among these spoils the δίφρος ἀργυρόπους, or silver-footed chair, upon which Xerxes sat to view the battle of Salamis. (Demosth. in Timocrat. Ulpian. ad Olynth. 3.) Harpocration and Suidas (in ἀργυρόπους) state the chair to have been in the Parthenon; but, as Demosthenes names it, in conjunction with the scimitar of Mardonius, which we find to have been, as late as the time of Pausanias, in the temple of Minerva Polias, it is probable that the two lexicographers have confounded the Parthenon with the temple of Polias.

[3] This Pausanias doubts, because Mardonius was opposed to the Lacedæmonians, and was slain by a Spartan soldier.

Cap. 27. thing is related, except that it is an evidence of the contest (of Neptune and Minerva) for the country; and that when the Medes burnt the city, the olive was also burnt, but that it sprouted the same day to the length of two cubits[1]. The temple of Pandrosus[2] is contiguous to that of Minerva. Pandrosus was the only one of the sisters who remained faithful to her trust. Near the temple of Polias dwell two virgins, called Canephori, who, when the festival arrives, receive in the night from the priestess of Minerva baskets, the contents of which are unknown both to them and to the priestess. These they carry upon their heads to an inclosure near the statue of Venus in the gardens, where, having deposited them in a natural cavern, they receive other covered burthens, which they deliver up as soon as they come out of the cavern. The two virgins are then dismissed, and two others are conducted to the Acropolis in their place.

"Not far from the temple of Minerva Polias is the statue of an old woman, one cubit in height, said to be the priestess Lysimacha[3]:

[1] Herodotus (l. 8. c. 55.) relates the same story, except that he is contented with a sprout of one cubit, (πηχυαῖον.)

[2] Thallo, one of the Horæ, received divine honours, together with Pandrosus. (Pausan. Bœot. c. 35.)

[3] Lysimacha had been priestess sixty-four years. Her

here also are great brazen images of two men, Cap. 27.
ready to engage in fight; one is called Erechtheus, the other Eumolpus[1]: upon the base are statues of men * * * and Tolmides himself[2]. Here are some ancient statues of Minerva, no part of which is consumed, though they are unable to bear a blow, and are still black with the fire which burnt them when Athens was taken by Xerxes. There are also the hunting of a wild boar; Cycnus fighting with Hercules; Theseus finding the slippers and sword of Ægeus under the rock, every part of which is of brass, except the rock; and Theseus leading the Cretan bull from Marathon to be sacrificed to Minerva in the Acropolis; this work was dedicated by the Marathonii.

"For what reason Cylon, who attempted to Cap. 28.
obtain the tyranny of Athens[3], was thought worthy of a brazen statue, I do not know; but I suppose it was for his beauty, and because he

statue was the work of Demetrius. (Plin. Nat. Hist. l. 34. c. 8.)

[1] "Those Athenians, (adds Pausanias) who are knowing in antiquity, are not ignorant that this is Immaradus, son of Eumolpus; he having been the person who was slain by Erechtheus, and not Eumolpus himself." Apollodorus, however, (l. 3. c. 15.) says it was Eumolpus.

[2] The text here is so much corrupted, that it is impossible to discover the exact meaning of the author.

[3] See Herod. l. 5. c. 71. and Thucyd. l. 1. c. 126.

above sixty feet high, standing upon an artificial platform, supported by a wall, the remains of which show that the entire circuit of the platform was 2300 feet. It appears from the existing remains that the temple consisted of a cell, surrounded by a peristyle, which had ten columns in front, and twenty on the sides; that the peristyle, being double on the sides, and quadruple at the posticum and pronaos, consisted altogether of 120 columns, and that the whole length of the building was 354 feet, and its breadth 171. Such vast dimensions would alone be sufficient to prove these columns to have belonged to that temple, which was the largest ever built in honour of the supreme pagan deity[1], and one of the four most magnificent ever erected by the ancients[2], even if

[1] Jovis Olympii templum Athenis, unum in terris inchoatum pro magnitudine Dei. Liv. Hist. l. 41. c. 20.

[2] The other three were the Ionic temples of Diana at Ephesus, and of Apollo near Miletus, and the Doric temple, sacred to Ceres and Proserpine, at Eleusis. Vitruv. in Proem. l. 7. According to Pliny, the Ephesian temple was 425 feet long, and 220 broad. Recent observations have proved the temple of Apollo at Branchidæ, near Miletus, to have measured 368 feet by 165, and the mystic temple of Eleusis 216 by 178. The temples of Jupiter at Agrigentum and Selinus were, the former 858 feet by 172, the latter 331 by 161; but they were never finished, as appears, in regard to the first, from Diodorus (l. 13, c. 82), and in regard to that of Selinus from the existing ruins.

Thucydides[1] had not pointed out this side of the city as the position of the Olympium, or if Vitruvius had not left us a description of the Olympium[2], exactly conformable with the existing ruins. The coincidence between the extent of the exterior inclosure and the dimensions of the peribolus of the Olympium, as stated by Pausanias, is still a further confirmation of the identity.

Enneacrunus.

The fountain Enneacrunus, the most important point in Athens for the elucidation of the topography of Pausanias, inasmuch as the simple text of his narrative, uncompared with other authorities, generally leaves an impression on the reader's mind that this fountain was towards the central or western part of the city[3], was, on the contrary, exactly at its south-eastern extremity, on the bank of the Ilissus.

The proofs are, 1. That Thucydides expressly declares Enneacrunus to have been on the south-

[1] l. 2, c. 15. See the next page, note 1.

[2] Cellæ magnitudinem et columnarum circa dipteron collocationem, &c. Romanus Cossutius nobiliter est architectatus. ..... In asty Olympium ..... Corinthiis symmetriis et proportionibus, uti supra dictum est, architectandum Cossutius suscepisse memoratur. Vitruv. Proem. i. 7. See the plan by Reveley, and the other drawings of this building in Stuart's Antiquities of Athens, vol. 3. c. 2.

[3] Such was Wheler's opinion: he supposed Enneacrunus to have been between the Acropolis and Areiopagus. Travels, p. 383.

Cap. 28. punishment for the murder of his mother. Here also are two rude stones[1], upon one of which the accuser sits, and upon the other the defendant[2]. Near this place is the sanctuary of the goddesses called Semnæ, but whom Hesiod in his Theogonia names Erinnyes[3]. Æschylus was the first to represent them with snakes in their hair; but here their statues have nothing ferocious in their aspect, nor have those of the other subterranean deities here represented, namely, Pluto, Hermes, and the Earth. Within the same inclosure is the tomb of Œdipus.

Cap. 29. "Near the Areiopagus is seen a ship, constructed for the use of the Panathenaic procession."

In the preceding extract the reader may have remarked, that Pausanias has named some of the buildings, or monuments, of Athens, without any indication of their locality. Such are

[1] The common reading is ἀργυροῦς λίθους, "silver stones," but there can be little doubt that it ought to be ἀργοὺς λίθους.

[2] The court of Areiopagus was open to the sky,—ὑπαιθρίοι ἐδικάζοντο. J. Poll. l. 8. c. 10. In later times it had a roof of clay. Vitruv. l. 2. c. 1.

[3] It was said to have been founded by Epimenides. Lobon. Argius. ap. Diogen. Laert. in Epimen. Its situation on the Areiopagus is shown by Dinarchus,—ἐπιωρκήκως τὰς Σεμνὰς Θεὰς ἐν Ἀρείῳ Πάγῳ. Din. cont. Demosth. p. 35. Reiske.

the tomb of Molpadia the Amazon[1], the heroic monument of Ægeus[2], and all the structures of Hadrian, except the Olympium[3]. Such also are the several Courts of Judicature, which he names in the 28th chapter, after speaking of the Areiopagus, the greatest and most ancient of them. Among these courts the position of the Prytaneium and Delphinium may indeed be inferred from his description; but he has said nothing to show the situation of the others mentioned by him, namely, the Parabystum, Trigonum, Batrachus, Phænicus, Heliæa, and Palladium[4].

But, besides the objects which Pausanias has named, there are some others, the fame and importance of which were such, that we are surprised to find that he has omitted all notice of them. For example, in the midst of the Cerameicus was the Leocorium, or monument of the daughters of Leos, one of the most re-

[1] C. 2.

[2] C. 22.

[3] C. 18. In like manner, in subsequent chapters of the Attica, he mentions altars of Anteros (c. 30.), and of Amphilochus (c. 64.)

[4] There were also tribunals at the Odeium, Theseium, Bucoleium, Thesmothesium. For the Courts of Justice at Athens, see Pollux. l. 8. c. 10. and Meursii Areopag. c. 11.

sufficient to convince the traveller of the correctness of Pausanias, in saying that Enneacrunus[1] was the only natural source of potable water, for such must be considered the meaning of his words. Of water fitted for domestic purposes, but too saline to be drinkable, there are other sources in Athens, and with aqueducts of such water ancient Athens was amply provided[2]. There was a fountain, also, called the fountain of Panops, on the north-east side of the city, near the Lyceium, and the gate Diocharis[3], but as it had fallen into neglect before the time of Augustus[4], and not a vestige of it is now to be seen, it was probably no more than an artificial source drawn from the Ilissus by the same conduit that watered the Lyceium[5], so that Enneacrunus was still the only natural fountain of sweet water.

[1] φρέατα μὲν καὶ διὰ πάσης τῆς πολεώς ἐστι, πηγὴ δὲ αὐτὴ μόνη. Pausan. Attic. c. 14.

[2] Aquæ enim species est, quæ cum habeat non satis perlucidas venas, spuma uti flos natat in summo, colore similis vitri purpurei. Hæc maximè considerantur Athenis: ibi enim ex hujusmodi locis et fontibus et in asty et ad portum Piræeum, ducti sunt salientes, e quibus bibit nemo propter eam causam, sed lavationibus et aliis rebus utuntur. Vitruv. l. 8. c. 3.

[3] See the authorities hereafter under the head of Lyceium.

[4] Strabo, p. 397.

[5] Theophr. Hist. Plant. l. 1. c. 11.

It appears unaccountable that Athens should have depended upon this source alone, and upon its wells for potable water, when such an aqueduct from the Cephissus as was constructed by Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, or such even as the Turks have drawn from the Ilissus, would have provided an ample supply. But there are strong reasons for thinking that the Athenians before the time of Antoninus never enjoyed such a plentiful supply of pure water as was administered to them by the aqueduct, then completed; for Dicæarchus[1], who lived 450 years before that time, in the most flourishing period of the republic, observes, that the city was dry and ill supplied with water, which cannot be said of it at the present day; and 300 years before the time of Dicæarchus, Solon[2] enacted a law, according to which, the right of fetching water from a well was confined to a small district around it. Had the Ilissus supplied the fountains of the city, that stream would not have been described by Plato as flowing in summer, or have been praised by him for its pleasant waters[3], but like the Ilissus

[1] Ἡ δὲ πόλις ξηρὰ πᾶσα, οὐκ εὔυδρος. Dicæarch. Stat. Græciæ.

[2] Plutarch. Parall. in Solon.

[3] κατὰ τὸν Ἰλισσὸν ἰῶμεν ..... ῥᾶστον οἶν ἡμῖν κατὰ τὸ ὑδάτιον ῥέχουσι τοὺς πόδας ἶεναι καὶ οὐκ ἀηδεῖ, ἄλλα τε καὶ

SECTION II.

Of the Positions and existing Monuments of ancient Athens, concerning the Identity of which there can be little or no Doubt.

THE positions which ancient history and local evidence concur in determining with the greatest certainty, are the river Ilissus,—the Acropolis with its three principal buildings, the Parthenon, Erechtheium, and Propylæa,—the Areiopagus, the Theseium, the Museium, the Pnyx, the temple of Jupiter Olympius, the fountain Enneacrunus, the Stadium, the Dionysiac theatre, the Odeium of Herodes, and the Agora of the time of the Romans.

Of the identity of the Ilissus, or of the Acropolis and its existing edifices, it cannot be necessary to speak in the present state of our knowledge of the topography of Athens. All the other places mentioned in the following section have, at no distant period of time, been mistaken by some of those who have visited or described Athens.

Areiopagus. The principal evidence of the Areiopagus having been the rocky height, which is separated from the western end of the Acropolis by

a hollow, forming a communication between the northern and southern divisions of the city, is found in the preceding extract from the Attica of Pausanias, (c. 28.) confirmed by a passage in Herodotus[1], who very clearly describes this hill, under the name of Areiopagus, as the place where the Persians were posted when they attacked the western end of the Acropolis. Æschylus[2] alludes to the same rocky height, under the same appellation, as the situation of the camp of the Amazones; and a passage in Lucian[3], which, as speaking of it in connexion with other adjacent positions in the city, will more properly come under consideration hereafter, no less surely points to the same height as the Areiopagus; so that this may be considered

[1] Οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἑζόμενοι ἐπὶ τὸ καταντίον τῆς ἀκροπόλιος ὄχθον τὸν Ἀθηναῖοι καλέουσιν Ἀρήϊον πάγον, ἐπολιόρκεον τρόπον τοιόνδε. Herodot, l. 8. c. 52.

[2] Πάγον δ' Ἀρεῖον, τὸν δ' Ἀμαζόνων ἕδραν,
Σκηνάς θ' ὅτ' ἦλθον Θησέως κατὰ φθόνον
Στρατηλατοῦσαι καὶ πόλιν νεόπτολιν
Τὴν δ' ὑψίπυργον ἀντεπύργωσαν τότε
Ἄρει δ' ἔθυον ἔνθεν ἐστ' ἐπώνυμος
Πέτρα, πάγος τ' Ἀρεῖος.—Æschyl. Eumenid. v. 688.

The original city of Theseus occupied the hill of the Acropolis only.

[3] Lucian. in δὶς κατηγορούμενος.

See also Etymol. Mag. in Ἀρεῖος πάγος, and Eustath. Comment. in Dionys. Alexand.

as one of the most certain among the positions of ancient Athens. It appears that the court of Areiopagus, and the temple of the Semnæ, occupied only the highest or eastern summit of the hill, which agrees very well with the authorities tending to place other buildings on the more western parts of the ridge, as will be seen hereafter[1].

Theseium.

The identity of the temple of Theseus may be presumed from the importance of the existing building[2], and from its vicinity to the ruins of the Gymnasium of Ptolemy. But the best proof is to be found in some of the remaining sculptures of the temple. The ten metopes of the eastern front, together with the four adjoining metopes of either flank, are adorned with sculptures in high relief, which represent the labours of Hercules and Theseus, the union of whose worship at Athens, in consequence of the gratitude of Theseus towards Hercules, is well known[3].

[1] See Section V. p. 117.

[2] For the importance of the temple of Theseus, see Plutarch (de Exil.) who places it on a level in sanctity with the Eleusinium and Parthenon. See also Strabo and Hegesias ap. Strab. p. 396.

[3] Plutarch in Thes. For some further remarks upon the construction and sculptures of the Theseium, see the additional Note III. at the end of the volume.

The Museium is described, by Pausanias[1], as a hill opposite to the Acropolis, included within the *ancient* circuit of the city-wall[2], and having the monument of a certain Syrian upon it. By the first part of this description, the traveller is at once directed to the hill, which, almost equal in height to the Acropolis, is separated from it by a valley on the south side: and here he not only finds the foundations of the city-walls crossing the summit of that hill, but the monument also of the Syrian just within the walls. This Syrian, whom Pausanias has not named, was Caius Julius Antiochus Philopappus, grandson of Antiochus, the fourth and last king of Commagene, who was deposed and carried to Rome by Vespasian, together with his two sons, Epiphanes and Callinicus[3]. It appears from the monument that Philopappus, son of Epiphanes, attained under Trajan to the dignities of Consul and Frater Arvalis, that, having retired to Athens, he was enrolled in the demus Besa, of the tribe Antiochis, and that he erected this monument, Museium.

[1] Ἔστι δὲ ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου ἀρχαίου τὸ Μουσεῖον, ἀπ' ἀντικρὺ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως λόφος, ἔνθα Μουσαῖον ᾄδειν καὶ ἀποθανόντα γήραϊ ταφῆναι λέγουσιν· ὕστερον δὲ μνῆμα αὐτόθι ἀνδρὶ ᾠκοδομήθη Σύρῳ. Pausan. Attic. c. 25.

[2] i. e. the limits of the city on this side, before the Long Walls were built. See Section IX.

[3] Sueton. in Vespas. c. 8.—Joseph. Ant. Jud. l. 19. c. 9. l. 20. c. 7.—De Bell. Jud. l. 7. c. 7.

which he decorated in a lower compartment with one of the triumphs of his benefactor Trajan, and above with three statues, seated in niches, of himself, his father, and grandfather[1].

Pnyx. With no less certainty the Pnyx, which was the most common place of public assembly in ancient times[2], but which was afterwards less frequented for that purpose than the Dionysiac theatre[3], is indicated by the description of its being over-against the Areiopagus[4], in view of the Propylæa[5], at no great distance from the Museium[6], and near the city walls[7],—as having

[1] See Stuart, vol. 3. c. 5. But I cannot agree with him, that the inscription on the pilaster referred to any other Philopappus than him, whose statue is in the neighbouring central niche; or that there were ever any statues on the top of the monument.

[2] Aristoph. in Acharn. v. 20. Equit. v. 746. v. 1106. Pac. v. 679. Concion. v. 384.

[3] Pollux. l. 8. c. 10. See page *41, note 1.

[4] Mercury says to Justice in the Δὶς κατηγορούμενος of Lucian, αὐτὴ ἐνταῦθα ποῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ πάγου (Ἀρείου) κάθησο, τὴν Πνύκα ὁρῶσα.

[5] Προπύλαια ταῦτα· Δημοσθένης ἐν Φιλιππικοῖς· δύναται μὲν δεικτικῶς λέγεσθαι, ἅτε ὁρωμένων τῶν Προπυλαίων ἀπὸ τῆς Πνυκός.—Harpocrat. in voce.

[6] Οὐ γὰρ ἐν ἄστει κατεστροπέδευσαν, οὐδὲ τὴν μάχην συνῆψαν ἐν χρῷ περὶ τὴν Πνύκα καὶ τὸ Μουσεῖον. Plutarch in Theseo.

[7] . . . πρὸς τῷ τείχει τῷ ἐν τῇ Πνυκί. Schol. Aristoph. Aves, s. 998.—Suidas in Μέτων.

been constructed for the meetings of the people, not with the magnificence of a regular theatre, but with the simplicity of ancient times[1], and as having a pulpit of stone[2] turned from the sea towards the interior country[3].

All these data accord so exactly with the remains of a monument, still existing on a height to the north of the Museium, and to the west of the Areiopagus, that it is singular there should ever have been a difference of opinion as to those remains. Yet Spon[4] took them for the Areiopagus, Wheler[5] was in doubt whether they belonged to the Areiopagus or Odeium, and Stuart[6] has given a plan and section of them as of the theatre of Regilla; thus mistaking the most ancient of the Athenian edifices for the most modern.

Stuart opposes to the opinion of Chandler,

[1] Πνύξ δὴ ἦν χωρίον πρὸς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν κατεσκευάσμενον κατὰ τὴν παλαιὰν ἁπλότητα, οὐκ εἰς θεάτρου πολυπραγμοσύνην· αὖθις δὲ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἐν τῷ Διονυσιακῷ θεάτρῳ, μόνας δὲ τὰς ἀρχαιρεσίας ἐν τῇ Πνυκί. Pollux. l. 8. c. 10.

[2] Ὅστις κρατεῖ νῦν τοῦ λίθου τοῦ ἐν Πνυκί. Aristoph. in Pace, v. 659. In quem loc. Schol. . . . λίθῳ δὲ τῷ βήματι τῷ ἐν τῇ Πνυκί.

[3] . . . . τὸ βῆμα τὸ ἐν Πνυκὶ πεποιημένον ὥστ' ἀποβλέπειν πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν ὕστερον οἱ Τριάκοντα πρὸς τὴν χώραν ἀπέστρεψαν. Plutarch in Themistocl.

[4] Spon, Voyage, &c. tom. 2. p. 116.

[5] Wheler's Travels, p. 382.

[6] Stuart's Antiq. of Athens, vol. 3. p. 51.

who first demonstrated the identity of this monument, now generally acknowledged to be the Pnyx, First,

That Plutarch[1] states the βῆμα, or pulpit, to have been turned so as to look towards the sea, which is the reverse of what we now find it to be:

2dly. That Lucian, in his *bis accusatus*, places Justice on the Areiopagus, looking westward towards Pnyx, at the same time that she beholds Pan approaching, whose abode was in the grotto under the Acropolis, exactly in the opposite direction.

But 1. There is every reason to think that the existing monument, whose rude massy wall is of the highest antiquity, is anterior to the time of Themistocles, and was built, as we now see it, to face the Agora; that Themistocles, by some temporary alteration, which has not lasted to the present time, turned the place of assembly to face the sea, in order to promote his design of giving the Athenians a taste for maritime affairs, contrary to their ancient prejudices; and that the thirty tyrants restored it to its former state. Or supposing the existing remains to be of less ancient date, we should still expect to find the bema as the latest change had left it; that is to say, turned, as we now find it, towards the city.

[1] Plutarch. supra.

2. The objection taken from Lucian is still less valid. Pan is supposed to be very near to Justice when he is perceived by her; for he immediately begins conversing with her. He perceived her from his grotto as she was sitting upon the Areiopagus, advanced to meet her, and arrived just as Mercury was setting off to the Acropolis[1].

We are equally well assured that the cluster of magnificent columns of Pentelic marble, at the south-east end of the city, near the Ilissus, belonged to the temple of Jupiter Olympius. They are of the Corinthian order, sixteen in number[2], six feet and a half in diameter, and Olympium.

[1] ΔΙΚΗ. Μὴ πρότερον ἀπέλθῃς, ὦ Ἑρμῆ, πρὶν εἰπεῖν ὅστις οὗτος ὁ προσιών ἐστιν, ὁ κεράσφορος, ὁ τὴν σύριγγα, ὁ λάσιος ἐκ τοῦ σκελοῦ.

ΕΡΜΗΣ. Τί φῂς, ἀγνοεῖς τὸν Πᾶνα, τῶν Διονύσου θεραπόντων τὸν βακχικώτατον; οὗτος ᾤκει μὲν τὸ πρόσθεν ἀνὰ τὸ Παρθένιον· ὑπὸ δὲ τὸν Δάτιδος ἐπίπλουν καὶ τὴν Μαραθώναδε τῶν βαρβάρων ἀπόβασιν ἦκεν ἄκλητος τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις σύμμαχος καὶ τὸ ἀπ' ἐκείνου, τὴν ὑπὸ τῇ ἀκροπόλει σπήλυγγα ταύτην ἀπολαβόμενος, οἰκεῖ μικρὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ Πελασγικοῦ, ἐς τὸ μετοικικὸν συντελῶν καὶ νῦν, ὡς τὸ εἰκὸς, ἰδὼν ἐκ γειτόνων πρόσεισι δεξιωσόμενος.

ΠΑΝ. Χαίρετε ὦ Ἑρμῆ καὶ Δίκη.

Lucian in δὶς κατηγορούμενος.

[2] There was a seventeenth column, belonging to the western front, standing until about the year 1760, when it was taken down by order of the governor of Athens, to build a new mosque in the Bazar. (Stuart's Antiq. of Athens, vol. 3. p. 15. Chandler's Travels in Greece, c. 15.)

above sixty feet high, standing upon an artificial platform, supported by a wall, the remains of which show that the entire circuit of the platform was 2300 feet. It appears from the existing remains that the temple consisted of a cell, surrounded by a peristyle, which had ten columns in front, and twenty on the sides; that the peristyle, being double on the sides, and quadruple at the posticum and pronaos, consisted altogether of 120 columns, and that the whole length of the building was 354 feet, and its breadth 171. Such vast dimensions would alone be sufficient to prove these columns to have belonged to that temple, which was the largest ever built in honour of the supreme pagan deity[1], and one of the four most magnificent ever erected by the ancients[2], even if

[1] Jovis Olympii templum Athenis, unum in terris inchoatum pro magnitudine Dei. Liv. Hist. l. 41. c. 20.

[2] The other three were the Ionic temples of Diana at Ephesus, and of Apollo near Miletus, and the Doric temple, sacred to Ceres and Proserpine, at Eleusis. Vitruv. in Proem. l. 7. According to Pliny, the Ephesian temple was 425 feet long, and 220 broad. Recent observations have proved the temple of Apollo at Branchidæ, near Miletus, to have measured 368 feet by 165, and the mystic temple of Eleusis 216 by 178. The temples of Jupiter at Agrigentum and Selinus were, the former 358 feet by 172, the latter 331 by 161; but they were never finished, as appears, in regard to the first, from Diodorus (l. 13, c. 82), and in regard to that of Selinus from the existing ruins.

Thucydides[1] had not pointed out this side of the city as the position of the Olympium, or if Vitruvius had not left us a description of the Olympium[2], exactly conformable with the existing ruins. The coincidence between the extent of the exterior inclosure and the dimensions of the peribolus of the Olympium, as stated by Pausanias, is still a further confirmation of the identity.

Enneacrunus.

The fountain Enneacrunus, the most important point in Athens for the elucidation of the topography of Pausanias, inasmuch as the simple text of his narrative, uncompared with other authorities, generally leaves an impression on the reader's mind that this fountain was towards the central or western part of the city[3], was, on the contrary, exactly at its south-eastern extremity, on the bank of the Ilissus.

The proofs are, 1. That Thucydides expressly declares Enneacrunus to have been on the south-

[1] l. 2, c. 15. See the next page, note 1.

[2] Cellæ magnitudinem et columnarum circa dipteron collocationem, &c. Romanus Cossutius nobiliter est architectatus. ..... In asty Olympium ..... Corinthiis symmetriis et proportionibus, uti supra dictum est, architectandum Cossutius suscepisse memoratur. Vitruv. Proem. i. 7. See the plan by Reveley, and the other drawings of this building in Stuart's Antiquities of Athens, vol. 3. c. 2.

[3] Such was Wheler's opinion: he supposed Enneacrunus to have been between the Acropolis and Areiopagus. Travels, p. 383.

ern side of the city, in the quarter earliest inhabited, where were the most ancient temples of Jupiter Olympius, Apollo Pythius, and Bacchus in Limnis[1]. 2. That it was near the temple of Jupiter Olympius[2]. 3. That it was near the Ilissus[3]. 4. That its ancient name of Callirrhoe, which was never obsolete[4], though the epithet of Enneacrunus prevailed in common use, is still applied to a fountain in this situation, and to the river itself. In 1676, when

[1] Τὸ δὲ πρὸ τούτου ἡ ἀκρόπολις ἡ νῦν οὖσα πόλις ἦν καὶ τὸ ὑπ' αὐτὴν πρὸς νότον μάλιστα τετραμμένον· τεκμήριον δὲ τὰ γὰρ ἱερὰ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἀκροπόλει καὶ ἄλλων θεῶν ἐστι καὶ τὰ ἔξω πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ μέρος τῆς πόλεως μᾶλλον ἵδρυται, τό τε τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου καὶ τὸ Πύθιον καὶ τὸ τῆς Γῆς καὶ τὸ ἐν Λίμναις Διονύσου ᾧ τὰ ἀρχαιότερα Διονύσια ποιεῖται, ... ἵδρυταί τε καὶ ἄλλα. ἱερὰ ἀρχαῖα ταύτῃ· καὶ τῇ κρήνῃ τῇ νῦν μὲν, τῶν τυράννων οὕτω σκευασάντων, Ἐννεακρούνῳ καλουμένῃ, τὸ δὲ πάλαι φανερῶν τῶν πηγῶν οὐσῶν, Καλλιρρόῃ ὠνομασμένῃ, ἐκείνῃ τε ἐγγὺς οὔσῃ, τὰ πλείστου ἄξια ἐχρῶντο· καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀρχαίου πρό τε γαμικῶν καὶ ἐς ἄλλα τῶν ἱερῶν νομίζεται τῷ ὕδατι χρῆσθαι. Thucyd. l. 2. c. 15.

[2] Ταραντῖνος δὲ ἱστορεῖ τὸν τοῦ Διὸς νηὼν κατασκευάζοντας Ἀθηναίους Ἐννεακρούνου πλησίον εἰσελαθῆναι ψηφίσασθαι τὰ ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς εἰς τὸ ἄστυ ζεύγη ἅπαντα. Hierocl. in Proem. Hippiat.

[3] Ἐννεάκρουνος κρήνη Ἀθήνῃσι παρὰ τὸν Ἰλισσὸν· ἡ πρότερον Καλλιρόη ἔσκεν· ἀφ' ἧς τὰ λουτρὰ ταῖς γαμουμέναις μετίασι. Etymol. Mag. in voce Ἐννεακ.

[4] Thucyd. ibid.

Et quos Callirhoe novies errantibus undis
Implicat.

Stat. Theb. l. 12. v. 629.

Spon and Wheler visited Athens, there were two fountains and some houses, a little below the south-eastern angle of the peribolus of the Olympium; the place was called Kallirói (Καλλιρόη), and one of the fountains preserved a stream of water[1]. Not many years ago, an excavation made in this spot showed that the natural course of this vein of water was from the north, and that it here joins the bed of the Ilissus. At present, owing to neglect and the obstruction of the earth collected on the bank, it finds its way into the Ilissus at the foot of a rock, which crosses the bed of that stream. Here it forms a pool, which in the drought of summer becomes muddy and very scanty, but which is still resorted to, as the only place in the neighbourhood furnishing sweet water. In seasons of extraordinary rain, the Ilissus, or rather a part of its stream, forms a small cascade over this rock, in which, above the spring or pool, are seen four or five excavated channels, intended for water-courses. It cannot be doubted that the vein of water from the north was that which supplied the ancient Enneacrunus, and with a little care it might again be made a perennial fountain.

A slight examination of the site of Athens is

[1] Wheler's Travels, p. 376. Spon, Voyage, &c tome 2, p. 122. 146.

sufficient to convince the traveller of the correctness of Pausanias, in saying that Enneacrunus[1] was the only natural source of potable water, for such must be considered the meaning of his words. Of water fitted for domestic purposes, but too saline to be drinkable, there are other sources in Athens, and with aqueducts of such water ancient Athens was amply provided[2]. There was a fountain, also, called the fountain of Panops, on the north-east side of the city, near the Lyceium, and the gate Diocharis[3], but as it had fallen into neglect before the time of Augustus[4], and not a vestige of it is now to be seen, it was probably no more than an artificial source drawn from the Ilissus by the same conduit that watered the Lyceium[5], so that Enneacrunus was still the only natural fountain of sweet water.

[1] φρέατα μὲν καὶ διὰ πάσης τῆς πολεώς ἐστι, πηγὴ δὲ αὐτὴ μόνη. Pausan. Attic. c. 14.

[2] Aquæ enim species est, quæ cum habeat non satis perlucidas venas, spuma uti flos natat in summo, colore similis vitri purpurei. Hæc maximè considerantur Athenis: ibi enim ex hujusmodi locis et fontibus et in asty et ad portum Piræeum, ducti sunt salientes, e quibus bibit nemo propter eam causam, sed lavationibus et aliis rebus utuntur. Vitruv. l. 8. c. 3.

[3] See the authorities hereafter under the head of Lyceium.

[4] Strabo, p. 397.

[5] Theophr. Hist. Plant. l. 1. c. 11.

It appears unaccountable that Athens should have depended upon this source alone, and upon its wells for potable water, when such an aqueduct from the Cephissus as was constructed by Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, or such even as the Turks have drawn from the Ilissus, would have provided an ample supply. But there are strong reasons for thinking that the Athenians before the time of Antoninus never enjoyed such a plentiful supply of pure water as was administered to them by the aqueduct, then completed; for Dicæarchus[1], who lived 450 years before that time, in the most flourishing period of the republic, observes, that the city was dry and ill supplied with water, which cannot be said of it at the present day; and 300 years before the time of Dicæarchus, Solon[2] enacted a law, according to which, the right of fetching water from a well was confined to a small district around it. Had the Ilissus supplied the fountains of the city, that stream would not have been described by Plato as flowing in summer, or have been praised by him for its pleasant waters[3], but like the Ilissus

[1] Ἡ δὲ πόλις ξηρὰ πᾶσα, οὐκ εὔυδρος. Dicæarch. Stat. Græciæ.

[2] Plutarch. Parall. in Solon.

[3] κατὰ τὸν Ἰλισσὸν ἰῶμεν ..... ῥᾶστον οἶν ἡμῖν κατὰ τὸ ὕδάτιον ἐρέχουσι τοὺς πόδας ἴεναι καὶ οὐκ ἀηδὲι, ἄλλα τε καὶ

of the present day, the waters of which are all either consumed in the gardens of the valley of Ambelókipo, or diverted into the artificial fountains of Athens, it must have been always dry, except after heavy rains. The only other source from whence a plentiful supply of water can be drawn for the use of Athens is at the foot of mount Pentelicum, near Cephissia, where are the springs of the principal branch of the Cephissus, towards which we still trace the remains of Hadrian's aqueduct; but had such an aqueduct existed in the better ages of the Athenian republic it would surely have been mentioned, or alluded to by some of the ancient authors.

It has been supposed that the epithet ὁ τὰς κρήνας ἄγων attached by the comic poet[1] to the astronomer Meton, the words ἐπιστάτης κρήνων by which Plutarch describes one of the offices held by Themistocles, and the title κρηνάρχη found in other ancient authors[2], had all reference to the superintendance of some such work as the aque-

τήνδε τὴν ὥραν τοῦ ἔτους τε καὶ τῆς ἡμέρας .... χαρίεντα γοῦν καὶ καθαρὰ καὶ διαφανῆ τὰ ὑδάτια φάίνεται. Plato in Phædr. vol. 3. p. 229. ed. Serran.

[1] Τίς δ' ἐστὶν ὁ μετὰ ταῦτα ταύτης φροντίζων;
Μέτων ὁ Λευκωνιεύς. Οἶδα, ὁ τὰς κρήνας ἄγων.
Phrynichus in Μονοτρόπῳ, ap. Schol. Aristoph. Aves. v. 999.

[2] Hesych. in Κρηναγγη.

duct of Hadrian; but it is to be observed that they are equally applicable to magistrates having the inspection of the distribution of water from cisterns filled by rain, or from those fountains of water unfit for drinking, which are noticed by Vitruvius. As to the office of Themistocles, who is described by Plutarch[1] as having had the duty of inquiring after those who illegally drew off the water from the established conduits, it seems to have been a consequence of the same regulations, which are still found necessary to prevent the waste, and unfair distribution of the waters of the Cephissus, and other rivulets of the plain of Athens; no person being now allowed to turn any of those waters into his house, or gardens, or olive-grounds, without purchasing permission from the government, or from such other persons as have established a right in them.

Stadium.

Among the ancient monuments of Athens, there is none of which the identity is less doubtful than the Stadium. It was first constructed in its existing form and situation about the year 350 B. C. for the gymnic contests of the panathenaic festival, by Lycurgus, son of Lycophron, who for this purpose levelled a torrent-bed upon the banks of the Ilissus[2]. About

[1] Εὑρὼν τοὺς ὑφηρημένους τὸ ὑδὼρ καὶ παροχετεύσαντας. Plutarch. in Themistocl.

[2] Καὶ τῷ σταδίῳ τῷ Παναθηναικῷ τὴν κρῆπιδα περιέθηκεν,

five centuries afterwards, it was covered with seats of Pentelic marble by Herodes, son of Atticus, near four years being required to complete the undertaking[1]. The marble seats have all disappeared, but the entire cavea remains, together with the masses of masonry, by which the semicircular end on the south was formed out of the torrent-bed. Similar ruins of the double extremity at the opposite end are also seen, together with the piers of a wide bridge over the Ilissus, and the site of a building on the summit of either hill. Of these two buildings one was a temple of Fortune, where stood a statue of the goddess in ivory[2]; the other may have been the tomb of Herodes, who was buried in the Stadium with every demonstration of respect[3]. Enough remains to form a judgment of what the entire structure must have been when complete, and to justify the terms of admiration used by Pausanias[4] and Philostra-

ἐξεργασάμενος τοῦτο, καὶ τὴν χάραδραν ὁμιλὴν ποιήσας. Plutarch de X Rhet. in Lycurg.

[1] Τὸ στάδιον (λευκοῦ λίθου) ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἰλισσὸν εἴσω τεττάρων ἐτῶν ἐπετέλεσεν, ἔργον ξυνθεὶς ὑπὲρ πάντα τὰ θαυμασία· οὐδὲν γὰρ θέατρον αὐτῷ ἀμιλλᾶται. Philostrat. in Herod.

[2] Τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ θάτερα τοῦ σταδίου νεὼς ἐπέχει τύχης καὶ ἄγαλμα ἐλεφάντινον ὡς κυβερνώσης πάντα. Philostrat. ibid.

[3] Philostrat. ibid.

[4] Τὸ δὲ ἀκούσασι μὲν οὐχ ὁμοίως ἐπαγωγὸν, θαῦμα δ' ἰδοῦσι, σταδιόν ἐστι λευκοῦ λίθου· μέγεθος δὲ αὐτοῦ τῇδε ἄν τις μάλιστα

tus, who saw it soon after it had been so magnificently embellished by Herodes. Its length, though probably the same between the metæ as the other Stadia of Greece, is considerably greater in the part destined for the spectators, being 675 feet in the interior. It may be conjectured that there were nearly thirty rows of seats, which rendered it capable of accommodating about 25,000 persons; but a much greater multitude might be assembled upon the slope of the two hills, above the seats, upon such an extraordinary occasion as that whereon Hadrian gratified the corrupted taste of the Athenians, and disgraced a Grecian Stadium by the Roman exhibition of the slaughter of a thousand wild beasts[1].

Dionysiac Theatre.

The Dionysiac theatre, or theatre of Bacchus, is another point of Athenian topography, upon which there can be no doubt, and its position is of such importance, that a mistake in regard to it led Stuart to several erroneous conclusions on the topography of the city. He supposed that the theatre, whose ruins are seen under the

τεκμαίροιτο· ἄνωθεν ὄρους ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἰλισσὸν ἀρχόμενον ἐκ μηνοειδοῦς καθήκει τοῦ ποταμοῦ πρὸς τὴν ὄχθην εὐθύ τε καὶ διπλοῦν· τοῦτο ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος Ἡρῴδης ᾠκοδόμησε καὶ οἱ τὸ πολὺ τῆς λιθοτομίας τῆς Πεντέλησιν ἐς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν ἀνηλώθη. Pausan. Attic. c. 19.

[1] Athenis mille ferarum venationem in Stadio exhibuit. Spartian. in Hadrian.

south-west corner of the Acropolis, was the Dionysiac theatre, and that the building, of which the form only, together with some vestiges of one of the wings, are traced near the south-east angle, was the Odeium of Pericles; in which opinion it is no less surprising that he should for a moment have imagined that a building, so evidently of the construction of Roman times as the former, could have been the theatre where the works of Æschylus and his followers in the drama were first represented, as that so large an edifice as the latter could ever have been covered by a pointed wooden roof in the manner in which the tent-shaped building of Pericles was constructed[1].

It is now admitted, by the generality of travellers, that the theatre at the south-west angle of the citadel is neither the Dionysiac theatre nor the Odeium of Pericles, but the Odeium of Herodes, and that the Dionysiac theatre was that of which vestiges are seen near the south-eastern angle[2]. Like the other theatres of Greece, its extremities were supported by solid piers of masonry, while the middle of it was excavated on the side of the hill.

The strongest proof that these remains belong

[1] See page 18, note 2.

[2] Chandler was the first who gave his opinion that these remains belonged to the theatre of Bacchus. Barthelemy

to the theatre of Bacchus is to be found in the choragic monuments still existing in that part of the site of Athens. Upon some of these are seen vestiges of the tripods, well known to have been the usual prizes of the leaders of the victorious Chori[1], in the contests of music and poetry, decided in the Dionysiac theatre[2], and to have been often dedicated in the sacred inclosure of Bacchus[3], of which the theatre was a part. We not only find the cavern at the summit of the theatre in the rocks of the

followed him in the Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis, where, speaking of the choragic monuments found in the vicinity of this theatre, he justly remarks, "Il convenoit que les trophées fussent élevées auprès du champ de bataille." Jeune Anach. tome 2. c. 12. But some late authors have still adhered to the opinion of Stuart. See Visconti's Elgin Marbles, p. 122. 127. Memoirs on Turkey, edited by Walpole, p. 546.

[1] Plutarch in Arist. in Themist. et in Nicia. Lysias in Defens. Largit. Pollux. l. 3. c. 30. Athen. l. 2. c. 2. Plutarch has given the words of the choragic inscriptions of Aristides and Themistocles, and the reader will find others (some of which still exist at Athens) in Spon, in the Inscriptiones Antiquæ of Chandler, and in Stuart, vol. 1. c. 4. and vol. 2. c. 4.

[2] Τῶν δε ἀγώνων, οἱ μὲν γυμνικοὶ, οἵδε καλούμενοι σκηνικοὶ, ονομασθεῖεν ἂν Διονυσιακοί τε καὶ μουσικοί, &c. Χωρία δε τῶν μὲν στάδιον, τῶν δε θέατρον. Pollux. l. 3. c. 30.

[3] .....νίκης ἀναθήματα χορηγικούς τρίποδας ἐν Διονύσου κατέλιπεν. Plutarch in Aristid.

.....ὁ τοῖς χορηγικοῖς τρίποσιν ὑποκείμενος ἐν Διονύσου νέως· ἐνίκησε γὰρ πολλάκις χορήγησας. Plutarch in Nicia. Whence it appears that Nicias built a small temple to support his tripods.

Acropolis, described by Pausanias[1]; but we observe also its choragic inscription and the embellishments of architecture, by which the cavern was converted by Thrasyllus, the victorious Choregus, into a small temple, like those erected by Nicias and Lysicrates. The only point wherein the description of Pausanias appears deficient is, that it mentions a tripod above the cavern, without taking any notice of the statue of Bacchus, formerly seated upon the entablature of the small temple, and now in the British Museum. It is to be observed, however, that there are holes in the lap of that statue, which indicate the position of a tripod, and that the custom of supporting tripods by statues was not uncommon[2]. The statue was placed between two other choragic monuments, and just below two columns, formed with triangular capitals for the support of tripods. At no great distance from the same spot, to the eastward, is the beautiful little temple, built by Lysicrates, in honour of the victory of

. . . . . καὶ τὸ νικητήριον ἐν Διονύσου τρίπους. Athenæus, l. 2. c. 2.

From these passages, ἐν Διονύσου seems to have been the common expression for *in the sacred inclosure of Bacchus.* Thus also Thucydides says το ἐν Λιμναῖς Διονύσου, and ἡ ἐν Διονύσου ἐκκλησία, and the biographer of the Ten Orators, (in Lycurg.) τὸ ἐν Διονύσου θέατρον.

[1] Ἐν δὲ τῇ χορυφῇ τοῦ θεάτρου σπήλαιόν ἐστιν ἐν ταῖς πέτραις ὑπὸ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. Pausan. Attic. c. 21.

[2] Pausan. Attic. c. 18. Lacon. c. 18. Messen. c. 14.

his chorus, with a roof rising to a triangular apex, for the support of his prize-tripod. It answers exactly to one of those temples which are mentioned by Pausanias as standing in the quarter of the Tripods, between the Prytaneium and the sacred inclosure of Bacchus. When the connexion therefore between the choragic monuments and the Dionysiac theatre are considered on the one hand, and on the other the extreme difficulty of supposing that any street passing by the monument of Lysicrates could have conducted, or have had any relation to the theatre at the south-west end of the Acropolis, it can hardly be maintained that the latter was the theatre of Bacchus, or any longer questioned that the site of the Dionysiac theatre is indicated by the hollow at the south-east end of the Acropolis.

We have a strong confirmation of its identity in an ancient brass coin of Athens, now for the first time published in the title-page of the present essay[1]. This curious medal represents the great Athenian theatre viewed from below. Its proscenium and cavea are distinctly seen; its gradation of seats interrupted by one diazoma, or lateral corridor of communication; and even the cunei, or separations, formed by the radiating steps, which led from the orchestra

[1] It belongs to the splendid collection of Mr. Payne Knight, who has permitted it to be engraved for this work.

to every part of the theatre. Above the theatre rises the wall of the Acropolis, anciently called Notium, over the centre of which is seen the Parthenon[1], and to the left of it the Propylæa. That no doubt may remain with regard to the identity of the theatre, the designer of the coin has even represented, at the foot of the wall above the centre of the theatre, the σπήλαιον or grotto mentioned by Pausanias, with a pilaster in the centre, exactly as we see it at the present day, or still better, as shewn by Stuart[2], in its restored state, cleared of the modern wall, by which the aperture was closed when the cave was formed into a small church, dedicated to Παναγία Σπηλιότισσα, or our Lady of the Cavern. The artist seems even to have intended to describe other smaller grottos, which still exist, in the same line with the great one.

It is impossible to form any correct estimate of the dimensions of the theatre from its exist-

[1] Ὧιδε ἦν τῶν ἐν τῇ οἰκουμένῃ κάλλιστον Θέατρον ἀξιόλογον μέγα καὶ θαυμαστόν. Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν πολύτελες ἀπόξιον ἄξιον θέας ὁ καλούμενος Παρθενὼν ὑπερκείμενος τοῦ θεάτρου μεγάλην κατάπληξιν ποιεῖ τοῖς θεωροῦσιν. Dicæarch. stat. Græciæ ap. Hudson. Min. Geogr. vol. 2. p. 8.

Dicæarchus, in here noticing the magnificent appearance of the Parthenon rising above the theatre, seems to allude exactly to the scene intended to be commemorated by the designer of the coin. The coin was probably struck about two centuries later than Dicæarchus, who wrote in the time of Demetrius Phalereus, or about 310 B. C.

[2] Stuart's Antiq. of Athens, vol. 2. c. 4. pl. 3.

ing vestiges; but it must have descended much lower into the plain than has generally been imagined, or than the present remains would indicate, if we are to infer from a passage in Plato[1], that it was capable of containing more than 30,000 persons. At the Hierum of Epidaurus, where the theatre is sufficiently preserved to enable us to judge that it could not have contained more than 15,000 spectators, even with a seat to each person, so narrow as 1½ foot in width, the total diameter is 366 feet; whereas the diameter of the Athenian theatre, at the place which is generally thought to have been its lower termination, is not more than 260 feet. The theatres at Argos and Sparta, and that near *Dramatzús*, in Epirus, were about 500 feet in diameter[2], and yet could not have

[1] παίδωχ ἡμῶν ὄντων ἔτι ὅτε τῇ πρώτῃ τραγωδίᾳ ἐνίκησεν Ἀγάθων, τῇ ὑστερείᾳ ἢ η τὰ ἐπινίκια ἔθυεν αὐτὸς τε καὶ οἱ χορευταί .* * * τὸν Σωκράτη καθίζεσθαι καὶ εἰπεῖν ὅτι Εὖ ἄν ἔχοι (φάναι) ὦ Ἀγάθων, εἰ τοιοῦτον εἴη ἡ σοφία * * * ἡ μὲν ἐμὴ φαύλη τὶς ἄν εἴη καὶ ἀμφισβητήσιμος ὥσπερ ὄναρ οὖσα, ἡ δὲ σὴ λάμπρα καὶ πόλλην ἐπίδοσιν ἔχουσα, ἥγε παρὰ σοῦ νέου ὄντος οὕτω σφόδρα ἐξέλαμψε καὶ ἐκφανὴς ἐγένετο πρώην ἐν μάρτυσι τῶν Ἑλλήνων πλέον ἢ τρισμυρίοις. Ὑβρίστης εἶ, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, ὁ Ἀγάθων. Plato in Conviv. vol. 3. p. 173. 175. ed. Serran.

[2] I found the theatre of Megalopolis to be 550 feet in diameter, but as it is situated in a plain, and consists of a vast mass of earth, there may perhaps be some deception, arising from the deposition of soil, in the course of ages, at the foot of the hill, by which the base may have been expanded, and consequently the apparent diameter of the theatre. There

contained more than 30,000 persons, allowing to each spectator the width of seat already stated. Unless, therefore, we imagine the great theatre of Athens to have been much smaller than those of Argos and Sparta; and unless we refuse to admit the obvious inference from the passage of Plato cited in the note, it is necessary to conclude that the Dionysiac theatre was not less than 450 or 500 feet in diameter, and consequently that it must have extended quite to the foot of the hill, where indeed the level space necessary for the orchestra and scene could alone be found.

It might then, but not otherwise, have justified the terms of admiration in which it is spoken of by Dicæarchus, who not only mentions its magnitude, but describes it as the most beautiful theatre in the world.

Odeium of Herodes.

The theatre at the south-east end of the Acropolis being admitted to be the Dionysiac theatre, that at the south-western end must have been the Odeium built by Herodes son of Atticus, and named by him in honour of his deceased wife, the Odeium of Regilla[1]. Its architecture is precisely that of the age when Herodes lived[2], and as to the silence of Pau-

can be little doubt, however, that Pausanias was correct in saying that the theatre of Megalopolis was the largest in Greece. (Arcad. c. 32.)

[1] Philostrat. in Herod.—Pausan. infra.

[2] Tiberius Claudius Atticus Herodes, born at Marathon,

sanias concerning it, when describing the road from the Dionysiac theatre to the Propylæa, wherein he must have passed very near, if not over, a part of the ground where the Odeium stood, he himself explains it in his description of Patræ, by remarking that the Odeium of Herodes at Athens did not exist at the time he wrote his Attica[1]. As the total diameter of this theatre within the walls was 248 feet, it could not well have contained more than 8000 spectators, a capacity quite incompatible with the multitudes sometimes assembled in the theatre of Bacchus, which Stuart supposed this building to have been; but sufficient, upon the supposition that it was the Odeium of Herodes, to allow us to give credit to the assertion of Pausanias, that it excelled all the other odeia or music-theatres in Greece. We are informed by Philostratus[2], that it had a roof of cedar; but we can hardly suppose that it extended over the whole area.

inherited great wealth from his father. He lived in the reigns of Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus, and Aurelius, and was one of the greatest benefactors Athens ever had.

[1] κεκόσμηται δὲ καὶ ἐς ἄλλα τὸ ᾠδεῖον (Patrense) ἀξιολογώτατα τῶν ἐν Ἕλλησι πλὴν γε δὴ τοῦ Ἀθήνησι· τοῦτο γὰρ μεγέθει τε καὶ ἐς τὴν πᾶσαν ὑπερῆρκε κατασκευήν· ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος ἐποίησεν Ἡρώδης ἐς μνήμην ἀποθανούσης γυναικός· ἐμοὶ δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἀτθίδι συγγραφῇ τὸ ἐς τοῦτο παρείθη τὸ ᾠδεῖον, ὅτι πρότερον ἔτι ἐξειγαστό μοι τὰ ἐς Ἀθηναίους, ἢ ὑπῆρκτο Ἡρώδης τοῦ οἰκοδομήματος. Pausan. Achaic. c. 20.

[2] Ἀνέθηκε δὲ Ἡρώδης Ἀθηναίοις καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ Ρεγίλλῃ θέατρον, κέδρου ξυνθεὶς τὸν ὄροφον. Philostrat. in Herod.

Cave of Pan. The grotto, sacred to Apollo and Pan, is a situation also of no small importance in the topography of Athens, and being one of those natural features of the place which have survived the ruins of so many magnificent monuments, it may be fixed with the greatest certainty. We have seen that Pausanias describes it as a cavern converted into a temple, and as situated under the Propylæa, near to a spring of water. Under the wall of the northern wing of the Propylæa, near the road which forms the present access to the citadel from the centre of the town, are still found both the cavern and the spring. The cavern contains two excavated ledges for the altars and statues of the two deities, together with several niches for votive offerings[1]: the water of the spring now supplies an artificial fountain a little lower down the hill, and is conveyed from thence by an aqueduct to the principal mosque near the Bazar.

We find the position of the cave of Apollo and Pan exactly represented on a coin of Athens, which has been published by Stuart[2] and Barthelemy[3], and which is inserted in the title-page of this volume, from another of the same coins in the British Museum. It presents a

[1] A statue of Pan, which is now in the public library at Cambridge, was found in a garden at no great distance below the cave.

[2] Antiquities of Athens, vol. 2. p. 37.

[3] Recueil de Cartes, &c. relatif au Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis, No. 27.

view of the north-western side of the Acropolis, with the Propylæa to the right, the Parthenon to the left, and the colossal statue of Minerva Promachus between them; the grotto of Apollo and Pan is represented a little to the left of the stairs, which (as it appears from this coin, as well as from existing vestiges of the stairs themselves cut in the rock) formed an ascent for foot passengers from the north side of the city to the Propylæa.

New Agora.

Another position in ancient Athens of which there can be no doubt, although it has sometimes been mistaken, is the new Agora in the quarter of Eretria, apparently the only one in use in the time of Augustus when Strabo wrote, and of Antoninus when Pausanias travelled. The propylæa or gateway of this Agora is still in existence. It consists of a portico of four Doric columns supporting a pediment; besides which there are some remains of one of the antæ, which terminated two walls, forming a quadrangular vestibule between the columns, and the door leading into the Agora. The jambs of this door are likewise in their original places. The proofs of the destination of the building are found in its plan[1], and upon comparing together three inscriptions, which have been published by Spon[2],

[1] Stuart's Antiq. of Athens, vol. 1. p. 1.

[2] Spon, Voyage, &c. tom. 2. p. 274.

and Wheler[1], and by Stuart. One of these inscriptions, which is still to be seen upon the epistylium of the portal, shows that the building was erected out of the donations bestowed upon Athens by Julius Cæsar and Augustus; another copied by Stuart from a quadrangular base in the entrance of the portal, proves that the base supported a statue of Julia Augusta, erected at the expense of one of the two agoranomi or directors of the market; and the third is a long decree of the emperor Hadrian respecting the sale of oils, and the duties to be paid upon them, inscribed upon one of the jambs of the inner door. A fourth inscription on the apex of the pediment shews that upon the summit stood a statue of Lucius Cæsar, the grandson of Augustus, and his adopted son.

Horologium of Andronicus.

Very near the new Agora, and consequently in the most convenient situation for the public when that quarter was the most central and frequented part of Athens, stands the tower erected by Andronicus Cyrrhestes, to indicate the quarter from whence the wind blew, the hour of the day by the sun when the weather was clear, and by water when it was cloudy[2].

[1] Wheler's Travels, p. 389.

[2] Stuart's Antiq. of Athens, vol. i. c. 3. This building is vulgarly called the *Tower of the Winds* from the characteristic figures in relief of the eight winds on the exterior wall of the building.

The tower of Cyrrhestes is accurately described by Varro[1] and Vitruvius[2], the age of the former of whom concurs with the architecture of the building to show the probability that it was erected about the same time that Scipio Nasica (in the year 159 B. C.) constructed for the first time, at Rome, a public Horologium, which, like the tower of Andronicus, is stated to have marked the hours by day and night by means of water[3].

The water-clock within the tower of Andronicus was supplied by the stream which rises under the cave of Pan: a part of the aqueduct used for conveying it to the Horologium is still to be seen, built into the wall of a modern house, and it now conducts the water

[1] In eodem Hemisphærio medio circum Cardinem, est orbis Ventorum octo: ut Athenis in Horologio, quod fecit Cyrrhestes. Varro de Re Rustica, l. 3. c. 5.

[2] Andronicus Cyrrhestes. . . . . collocavit Athenis turrim marmoreum octogonon et in singulis lateribus octogoni, singulorum ventorum imagines exsculptas contra suos cujusque flatus designavit, supraque eam turrim metam marmoream perfecit, et insuper Tritonem æreum collocavit, dextra manu virgam porrigentem; et ita est machinatus, uti vento circumageretur et semper contra flatum consisteret supraque imaginem flantis venti indicem vergam teneret. Vitruv. l. 1. c. 6.

[3] Scipio Nasica collega Lænatis, primus aquâ divisit horas æque noctium ac dierum: idque horologium sub tecto dicavit anno urbis 595. Plin. Nat. Hist. l. 7. c. 60.

of the spring to the neighbouring mosque, for the use of the Turks in their ablutions. As water-clocks were called Clepsydræ, and as Clepsydra seems clearly, upon comparing the two passages cited in the note[1], to have been the name of the spring, which rises near the cave of Pan, it was natural for Stuart to suppose that the tower of Andronicus was a Clepsydra, and that it had either given that name to, or taken it from, the spring near the cave of Pan. But this could not have been the case, for the spring was called Clepsydra, from its imaginary course under ground from Athens to Phalerum[2],

[1] ΚΙ. ὅπου τὸ τοῦ Πανὸς καλόν.
ΜΥ. καὶ πῶς ἐθ' ἁγνὴ δῆτ' ἀνέλθοιμ' ἐς πόλιν;
ΚΙ. κάλλιστα δήπου λουσαμένη τῇ Κλεψύδρᾳ.
Aristoph. Lysistrat. v. 909.

Πόλις here means the Acropolis.

Καταβᾶσι δὲ οὐκ ἐς τὴν κάτω πόλιν ἀλλ' ὅσον ὑπὸ τὰ προπύλαια πηγή τε ὑδατός ἐστι καὶ πλησίον Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερὸν ἐν σπηλαίῳ καὶ Πανός. Pausan. Attic. c. 28.

[2] Κλεψίρρυτον· ὕδωρ τὸ τῆς Κλεψύδρας· αὐτὴ δὲ ἐστὶ κρήνη Ἀθήνησιν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀκροπόλεως ἐπὶ σταδίους εἴκοσιν ὑπὸ γῆν φερομένη. Hesych. in Κλεψίρρυτον.

Κλεψύδρα κρήνη ἐν Ἀκροπόλει.... ἀρχαμένων τῶν Ἑτησίων, πληροῦται, παυομένων δὲ λήγει ὁμοίως τῷ Νείλῳ..... εἰς ταυτήν φησιν (Ἴστρος) ἠματωμένην φιαλὴν πεσοῦσαν, ὀφθῆναι ἐν τῷ φαληρικῷ ἀπέχοντι σταδίους εἴκοσι. Schol. in Aristoph. Aves, v. 1694.

Κλεψύδρα κρήνη ἥτις τὸ πρότερον Ἐμπεδῶ προσηγορεύετο. σημαίνει δὲ καὶ το σκεῦος· ἔχει δὲ τὰς ῥύσεις ἀνατελλούσας, εἰς τὸν Φαληρέων δῆμον· ὡρολόγιον, ὄργανον ἐν ᾧ αἱ ὧραι μετροῦνται. Hesych. in Κλεψύδρα.

and water-clocks, under the name of Clepsydræ, are alluded to by Aristophanes[1] several centuries before the earliest date we can possibly ascribe to the Horologium of Andronicus.

[1] Aristoph. Aves, v. 1694, Vesp. v. 93, 858. These water-clocks were to regulate the time of speaking of the orators; the person who superintended them was called, ὁ ἐφύδωρ. Pollux. l. 8. c. 9.—Hesych.—Suidas.

SECTION III.

Of Mounts Anchesmus and Lycabettus.—Of Dipylum and the Peiraic Gate.

The positions of such important points, as the Areiopagus, Olympium, Dionysiac theatre, Theseium, and the other places mentioned in the preceding section, being fixed beyond any reasonable doubt, the names of some of the other existing monuments, and the positions of some of the other principal places in ancient Athens may be assigned, if not with equal certainty, at least with a considerable degree of probability.

Two of the most remarkable of the natural features of the site of Athens are the ridge of hills which borders its site from west to south, and the peaked summit considerably higher than the citadel, which, crowned with a small church of St. George, looks down upon the city from the north-eastern side.

It is surprising that no certain evidence exists of the ancient name of this conical hill, one of the first objects that seizes the stranger's attention, and which enters into almost every view of the scenery of Athens. It has ge-

nerally been supposed Anchesmus, and probably with justice, for although the name occurs but once in ancient history, and though Pausanias[1], the author who mentions it, gives no certain indication of its locality, yet as he describes Anchesmus as a small mountain, distinct from Parnes, Pentelicum, and Hymettus, and which could not have been any part of the ridge on the north-west side of the plain, well known to have borne the names of Ægaleos, Corydallus, and Pœcilum, it becomes difficult to find any other height near Athens, to which this description of Anchesmus can be applied.

The acute summit of the hill was well adapted to the statue of Jupiter, which Pausanias mentions to have stood upon Anchesmus, and if it was a colossal statue, it must have had the finest effect overlooking the city from this point.

The fable, related by Antigonus Carystius[2],

[1] Ὄρη δὲ Ἀθηναίοις ἐστὶ Πεντελικὸν ..... καὶ Πάρνης ..... καὶ Ὑμηττὸς ..... Πεντέλῃσι μὲν Ἀθηνᾶς, ἐν Ὑμηττῷ δὲ ἄγαλμά ἐστιν Ὑμηττίου Διός ..... καὶ ἐν Πάρνηθι Παρνήθιος Ζεὺς χαλκοῦς ἐστι ..... καὶ Ἀγχεσμὸς ὄρος ἐστὶν οὐ μέγα καὶ Διὸς ἄγαλμα Ἀγχεσμίου. Pausan. Attic. c. 32.

[2] Ἀφικομένην δὲ (τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν) εἰς Πελλήνην φέρειν ὄρος ἵνα ἔρυμα πρὸ τῆς Ἀκροπόλεως ποιήσῃ ..... τῇ δὲ Ἀθηνᾷ, φερούσῃ τὸ ὄρος, ὃ νῦν καλεῖται Λυκαβηττὸς, κορώνην φησὶν ἀπαντῆσαι καὶ εἰπεῖν ὅτι Ἐριχθόνιος ἐν φανερῷ· τὴν δὲ ἀκούσασαν ῥῖψαι τὸ ὄρος, ὅπου νῦν ἐστι. Antigon. Caryst. Hist. Mirab. c. 12.

of the birth of Erichthonius, when Minerva is said to have thrown down mount Lycabettus to serve as an *outwork to the Acropolis*, may to some persons appear more applicable to the hill of St. George than to any other, and the olives, for which Lycabettus is said by a Roman poet[1] to have been celebrated, may also seem suited to a hill, which is now partly surrounded with olive plantations. Plato, however, whose authority is infinitely preferable to that of any Latin author, places Lycabettus near to Pnyx[2], and even the words of Antigonus, ἔρυμα πρὸ τῆς ακροπόλεως, apply better to the ridge of hills on the south-west side of the citadel, than to the more distant height on the north-east side of Athens beyond the city-walls. It is possible that the whole ridge of hills to the south-west of the Acropolis may have been called Lycabettus, until the southern and highest part of them came into distinct notice, from having been formed into a separate fortress by Antigonus, king of Macedonia[3], and his son Demetrius[4]; whence the name of Museium, before

[1] Dives et Ægaleos nemorum, Parnesque benignus
Vitibus et pingui melior Lycabessus olivâ.
Statii. Theb. l. 12. v. 631.

[2] ἐντὸς τὴν Πνύκα καὶ τὸν Λυκαβητὸν, ὅρον ἐκ τοῦ καταντικρὺ Πνυκὸς ἔχουσα. Plat. in Crit.

[3] Pausan. Attic. c. 26.—Lacon. c. 6.

[4] Plutarch. Paral. in Demetr. Pausan. Attic. c. 25.

specifically applied to this summit from the sepulchre of Musæus[1], but never mentioned by any of the earlier Athenian writers, may have become better known than that of Lycabettus in the later ages of Greece.

Though it is impossible to believe that these hills could have been covered with olives in the most populous ages of Athens, so numerous are the vestiges of habitations still seen upon them, they may nevertheless, in more distant times, not only have borne olives, but have abounded in wolves, from which animals Lycabettus is said to have taken its name[2]. The richness of the olive plantations of Lycabettus may have become so proverbial, as to have survived the plantations themselves, and may thus have furnished matter to the Latin poets, who were generally very careless in regard to the the accuracy of their allusions to Greece; the praise, for instance, bestowed by Statius, upon Ægaleos for its woods, and Parnes for its vines, is not much less inconsistent with present appearances, than what he says of the olives of Lycabettus.

Among the positions of the city itself, the two most important, and worthy of the first con-

[1] Pausan. Attic. c. 25.

[2] Λυκάβηττος ὄρος τῆς Ἀττικῆς· εἴρηται δὲ οὕτω διὰ τὸ λύκοις πληθύειν. Hesych. in Λυκαβ.

sideration as leading to the topography of all the western side, are Dipylum and the Peiraic gate. Dipylum being the gate which led from Athens to the Peloponnesus, to the western part of Attica, and a part of Bœotia, was the most frequented of all the entrances into Athens, where both the gate and the adjoining streets were wider than any others[1]. Its name seems to indicate that it was constructed in the same manner as the gate of Megalopolis, at Messene, with a double entrance, and an intermediate circular court.

There is abundance of evidence to prove that Dipylum was in that part of the wall of Athens which separated the inner from the outer Cerameicus,[2] and that it formed the communication between them:

For Thucydides[3] speaks of the outer Cerameicus as separated by the walls of Athens from

[1] Ab Dipylo accessit: porta ea velut in ore urbis posita major aliquanto patentiorque quam cæteræ, est; et intra eam extraque latæ sunt viæ ut et oppidani dirigere aciem a foro ad portam possent: et extra limes mille ferme passus in Academiæ gymnasium ferens pediti equitique hostium liberum spatium præberet. Liv. Hist. l. 31. c. 24.

[2] ..... ἐκτὸς τείχους ἐν Κεραμεικῷ. Plato in Parmen.

[3] Ἱππίας μὲν ἔξω ἐν τῷ Κεραμεικῷ καλουμένῳ μετὰ τῶν δορυφόρων διεκόσμει ὡς ἕκαστα ἐχρῆν τῆς πόμπης προϊέναι· ὁ δὲ Ἁρμόδιος καὶ ὁ Ἀριστογείτων..... ὥρμησαν εἴσω τῶν πύλων καὶ περιέτυχον τῷ Ἱππάρχῳ παρὰ τὸ Λεωκόριον καλούμενον. Thucyd. l. 6. c. 57.

the quarter within the city, where stood the Leocorium, which quarter we have already seen from other authorities to have been also called Cerameicus[1]: from Livy, Cicero[2] and Lucian[3], we know that Dipylum was the gate that led to the Academy, and from a comparison[4] of Pau-

[1] See page 31, note 2.

[2] Cum audivissem Antiochum, Brute, ut solebat, cum M. Pisone, in eo gymnasio, quod Ptolemeum vocatur unaque nobiscum Q. Frater. et T. Pomponius et L. Cicero frater noster, cognatione patruelis, amore germanus: constituimus inter nos, ut ambulationem postmeridianam conficeremus in Academiâ, maximè quod is locus ab omni turbâ id temporis vacuus esset. Itaque ad tempus ad Pisonem omnes. Inde vario sermone sex illa a Dipylo stadia confecimus; cum autem venissemus in Academiæ non sine causâ nobilitata spatia, solitudo erat ea, quam voluëramus. Cicero de Fin. l. 5. c. 1.

[3] Ἐστὶ δὲ οὐ πολὺ ἀπὸ τοῦ Διπύλου ἐν ἀριστερᾷ εἰς Ἀκαδημίαν ἀπιόντων. Lucian. in Scyth.

[4] Ἐν Ἀκαδημίᾳ δὲ ἐστὶ Προμηθέως ζωμός· καὶ θέουσιν ἀπ' αὐτου πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἔχοντες καιομένας λαμπάδας· τὸ δε ἀγώνισμα, &c.....Κατὰ τοῦτο τῆς χώρας φαίνεται πύργος Τιμῶνος, &c.....δείκνυται δὲ καὶ χῶρος καλούμενος κολωνὸς Ἵππιος ἔνθα τῆς Ἀττικῆς πρῶτον ἐλθεῖν λέγουσιν Οἰδίποδα. Pausan. Attic. c. 30.

Ηρ. Καθείρπυσον νῦν ἐς Κεραμεικόν
Δι. Κατά τι;
Ηρ. ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τὸν πύργον ὑψηλόν
Δι. τί δρῶ;
Ηρ. ἀφιεμένην τὴν λάμπαδ' ἐντεῦθεν θεῶ, &c.
Aristoph. Ranæ. v. 129.

Ad quem locum Schol. Κεραμεικοὶ τόπος Ἀθήνησιν· ὅπου συνετέλουν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὸν λαμπαδοῦχον ἀγῶνα. Vide et Schol.

sanias with Aristophanes, and other authors, it is certain that the Academy was in the outer Cerameicus, at the end of the suburb, where were the tombs of the Athenians slain in battle. Finally, we learn from Plutarch[1] that there was an inner Cerameicus adjacent to Dipylum, a fact which is fully corroborated by a passage of Lucian, cited below, compared with other parallel authorities[2].

in Aristoph. Ran. v. 131. Suidas in voce Λαμπαδηφορία. The πύργος ὑψηλός of Aristophanes appears to be the same as the πύργος Τιμῶνος of Pausanias, and in these two passages we have a proof of the λαμπαδηφορία of the outer Cerameicus having been celebrated for 600 years.

ἐς Ακαδημίαν..... ἐν Κεραμεικῷ. Philostrat. in Herod.

Ἀκαδημία λέγεται δὲ γυμνάσιον Ἀθήνησιν ἀπὸ Ἀκαδήμου ἀναθέντος καὶ τόπος καλεῖται δὲ οὗτος ὁ Κεραμεικὸς. Hesych. in Ἀκαδημία.

Ἀθηναίοις δὲ καὶ ἔξω πόλεως ἐν τοῖς Δήμοις καὶ κατὰ τοὺς ὁδοὺς θεῶν ἐστιν ἱερὰ καὶ ἡρώων καὶ ανδρῶν τάφοι. Ἐγγυτάτω δὲ ἡ Ἀκαδημία χωρίον ποτὲ ἀνδρὸς ἰδιώτου, γυμνάσιον δε ἐπ' ἐμοῦ..... οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν κεῖνται τὴν ἐς Ἀκαδημίαν καὶ σφῶν ἑστᾶσιν ἐπι τοῖς τάφοις στῆλαι τὰ ὀνόματα καὶ τὸν δῆμον ἑκάστου λέγουσαι. Pausan. Attic. c. 29.

Ὁ Κεραμεικὸς δέξεται νώ

Δημοσίᾳ γὰρ ἵνα ταφῶμεν. Aristoph. Aves. v. 395.

[1] Ἄνευ γὰρ τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην πόλιν ἀναιρεθέντων ὁ περὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν φόνος ἐπέσχε πάντα τὸν ἐντὸς τοῦ Διπύλου Κεραμεικόν. Plutarch. in Sylla.

[2] Ἄπιθι, φησὶ πρὸς τὸν καύκληρον Ἑρμότιμον ἢ τὰ διὰ τῶν τοίχων γεγραμμένα ἔν τῷ Κεραμεικῷ ἀνάγνωθι, ὅπου κατεστηλίτευται ὑμῶν τὰ ὀνόματα..... Ἐγῶ δὲ ἐμεμνήμην ὅτι κατὰ τοίχου τινὸς ἔλεγε καταγεγράφθαι τοὔνομα ἐν τῷ Κεραμεικῷ·

The exact extent of the inner Cerameicus is not easily determined, but as we are informed by Pausanias that a portico communicated from the Peiraic gate to the Cerameicus, it may be presumed that the Cerameicus extended considerably to the right of the traveller as he entered the city by Dipylum: nor can it be doubted, that it extended also for a considerable distance from Dipylum towards the central parts of the city; for the Pœcile, the road to which from Dipylum led through Cerameicus[1], was near the Agora of the time of Pausanias, the propylæum of which still exists. The Pœcile, however, seems to have stood nearly upon the utmost boundary of the Cerameicus eastward, for the

ἔπεμψα οὖν Ἀκίδα κατασκεψομένην· ἦδ' ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν εὗρε τοῦτο δὲ μόνον ἐπιγεγραμμένον εἰσιόντων ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιὰ πρὸς τῷ Διπύλῳ· Μέλιττα φιλεῖ Ἑρμότιμον, &c. Lucian in dial. Meritr. Melittæ, et Bacchidis.

Καὶ τῇ κρεάγρᾳ τῆν ὀρχιπέδων ἐλκοίμην ἐς Κεραμεικόν. Aristoph. in Equit. v. 769. Ad quem locum Schol. Δύο δὲ οἱ Κεραμεικοὶ Ἀθήνῃσιν, ὁ μὲν ἐνδὸν πόλεως, ὁ δὲ ἔξω, ἔνθα καὶ τοὺς ἐν πολέμῳ τελευτήσαντας ἔθαπτον..... ἐν δὲ τῷ ἑτέρῳ προεστήκασιν αἱ πόρναι.

Κεραμεικοὶ δύο τόποι Ἀθήνῃσιν· ἐν δε τῷ ἑτέρῳ προεστήκασιν αἱ πόρναι. Suidas in Κεραμ.

Κεραμεικὸς, τόπος Ἀθήνῃσιν, ἔνθα αἱ πόρναι προεστήκασι. Hesych. in Κεραμ.

[1] ἐνταῦθα γὰρ ἐν Κεραμεικῷ ὑπομενοῦμεν αὐτὴν (Philosophiam) ἤδε ἠδή που ἀφίξεται, ἐπανιοῦσα ἐξ Ἀκαδημίας ὡς περιπατήσειε καὶ ἐν τῇ Ποικίλῃ. Lucian. in Piscator.

new Agora was in Eretria[1]; and the Macra Stoa, which there is reason to think was the same as the Hermæ, and situated, as will hereafter be seen, between the Stoa Basileius and the Pœcile, was on the edge of Melite[2]. According to these limits, the inner Cerameicus must have comprised all the part around the Theseium, and the Gymnasium of Ptolemy, for these lay exactly between the part of Cerameicus about Dipylum, and that near the Pœcile and new Agora: and hence it is probable, that the statue of the philosopher Chrysippus of Soli, described by Cicero[3] and Diogenes Laertius[4] as being in the Cerameicus, is the same as that mentioned by Pausanias in the Gymnasium of Ptolemy.

[1] τῆς Ἀθήνησιν Ἐρετρίας ἡ νῦν ἐστιν Ἀγορα. Strabo, p. 447.

[2] ΠΕΙ. Σύ δ' εἶ τίς ἀνδρῶν; ΓΕ. ὅστις ἔιμ' ἐγώ; Μέτων,
Ὃν εἶδεν Ἑλλὰς χ' ὁ Κολωνὸς. Aristoph. Aves. v. 999.

In qu. loc. Schol. vet..... οὕτω μέρος τί νῦν σύνηθες γέγονε τὸ Κολωνὸν καλεῖν τὸ ὄπισθεν τῆς μακρᾶς στοᾶς, ἄλλ οὐκ' ἔστι, Μελίτη γὰρ ἅπαν ἐκεῖνο, ὡς ἔν τοῖς ὁρισμοῖς γέγραπται τῆς πόλεως. The Colonus here meant, is the Colonus Agoræus, concerning which see below in Section V.

[3] Athenis—statua est in Ceramico Chrysippi sedentis porrectâ manu. Cicer. de fin. l. 1. c. 11.

[4] ἦ δὲ καὶ σωμάτιον εὐτελὴς ὡς δῆλον ἐκ τοῦ ἀνδριάντος τοῦ ἐν Κεραμεικῷ, ὅς σχεδόν τι ὑπεκέκυπται τῷ πλησίον ἵππει, ὅθεν αὐτὸν ὁ Καρνεάδης Κρύψιππον ἔλεγεν. Diogen. Laert. in Chrysipp.

In the citation from Lucian, in a preceding note, the Pæcile is described as being in the Cerameicus: from other authors[1] it appears to have been in the Agora. In a passage of Plutarch[2], containing a decree of the Athenian people for the erection of a statue to Lycurgus, son of Lycophron, we have another evidence that the words Cerameicus and Agora were often used as synonymous; further proof of which may be derived from a comparison of passages from Arrian, Lucian, and Aristotle, where they speak of the statues of Harmodius and Aristogeiton[3]. It may be inferred, therefore, that

[1] προσέλθετε οὖν τῇ διανοίᾳ καὶ εἰς τὴν Στόαν τὴν Ποικίλην· ἁπάντων γὰρ ὑμῖν τῶν καλῶν ἔργων τὰ ὑπομνήματα ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἀνάκειται. Æschin. in Ctesiph. p. 575. Reiske. The statue of Solon, which Pausanias describes to have been before the Pæcile, is placed by Demosthenes, (adv. Aristog. 2.) and Ælian (Var. Hist. l. 8. c. 16.) in the Agora.

[2] Ἀνάκειται δὲ αὐτοῦ εἰκὼν ἐν Κεραμεικῷ κατὰ ψήφισμα ἐπὶ Ἀναξικράτους ἄρχοντος, δέδοχθαι τῷ Δήμῳ ἐπαινέσαι μὲν Λύκουργον Λυκόφρονος Βουτάδην ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ στῆσαι αὐτοῦ τὸν Δῆμον χαλκῆν εἰκόνα ἐν Ἀγορᾷ. Plutarch. de 10 Rhet. in Lycurg.

[3] Ἁρμοδίου καὶ Ἀριστογείτονος χαλκαῖ εἰκόνες . . . . . νῦν κεῖνται Ἀθήνησιν ἐν Κεραμεικῷ . . . . ᾗ ἀνίμεν ἐς πόλιν καταντικρὺ τοῦ Μητρώου. Arrian. de Exped. Alexand. l. 3. c. 16.

Ἀριστογείτων . . . νῦν ἕστηκε χαλκὸς ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ μετὰ τῶν παιδικῶν. Lucian. in Parasit.

. . . . . Ἁρμόδιον καὶ Ἀριστογείτονα τὸ ἐν ἀγορᾷ σταθῆναι. Aristot. Rhet. l. 1. c. 9.

the more ancient Agora occupied the greater part of the quarter of the inner Cerameicus, spreading probably over a great extent of ground, and, like an Oriental Bazar, comprehending various divisions, each of which had its denomination, from the commodities therein exposed to sale[1].

It is observable that Pausanias never applies the word Agora to any part of the city, except the Eretrian Agora, which was the only portion of the city used as an Agora under the Roman empire; and that he always distinguishes the more ancient Agora by the word Cerameicus. It will be convenient, therefore, to apply to the latter the term of Ceramic, or old Agora; and to the former that of Eretrian, or new Agora.

To return to Dipylum. We have already seen that it led from the city through the outer Cerameicus to the Academy. The Academy was six or eight stades from Dipylum, near the Colonus Hippius[2], which was a height sacred to Neptune, situated ten stades from the city[3], not far from the banks of the Cephissus[4]. Near the Academy,

[1] For further particulars of these divisions, see Meursii Ceramicus Geminus, c. 16.

[2] See the notes, p. 72, 73.

[3] Κολωνὸν· ἐστὶ δὲ ἱερὸν Ποσειδῶνος ἔξω τῆς πόλεως, ἀπέχον σταδίους μάλιστα δέκα. Thucyd. l. 8. c. 67.

[4] Me ipsum huc modo (i. e. a Dipylo in Academiam) veni-

and in the road leading to it from Dipylum, through the outer Cerameicus, were buried many illustrious Athenians, and particularly those who had fallen in the most celebrated actions, wherein Athens had been engaged with its enemies[1]. At the extremity of the outer Cerameicus was situated the Academy, in a low, and rather marshy situation, which rendered the air unhealthy[2]. Dipylum was also the gate through which, in the ceremonies of the Eleusinia, the Mystæ proceeded into the Sacred Way, or road to Eleusis from the Agora and inner Cerameicus[3], a fact which is evident also from the

entem, convertebat ad sese Coloneus ille locus, cujus incola Sophocles ob oculos versabatur. Cicero de Fin. l. 5. c. 1.

Εὐίππου ξένε τᾶς δε χώρας
Ἱκοῦ τὰ κράτιστα γᾶς ἔπαυλα
Τὸν ἀργῆτα Κολωνόν,
Ἔνθα λίγεια, &c.
. . . . . οὐδ' ἄυπνοι
Κρῆναι μινύθουσι
Κηφισοῦ νομάδες ρεέθρων.—

Sophocl. Œdip. Colon. v. 668. et seq.

[1] Thucyd. l. 2. c. 34. et Schol.—Pausan. Attic. c. 29.

[2] See the authorities below.

[3] Ἱερὰ Ὁδός ἐστιν ἣν οἱ μύσται πορεύονται ἀπ' ἄστεος ἐς Ἐλευσῖνα. Harpocrat. in Ἱερὰ Ὁδός.

Διαγορᾶς· διὰ τὸ τοὺς μύστας βακχάζειν τουτέστιν ᾄδειν τὸν Ἴακχον δι' ἀγορὰν βαδίζοντος. Hesych. in Διαγορᾶς.

. . . . . εἰς Ἐλευσῖνα ὁδεύουσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ Κεραμεικοῦ προπέμποντες τὸν Διόνυσον. Schol. in Aristoph. Ran. v. 402.

position of the tomb of Anthemocritus, as indicated by Plutarch and Pausanias, and by Harpocration in explanation of a passage of Isæus[1].

From the circumstance of its communicating from the inner to the outer Cerameicus, Dipylum was sometimes called the gates of Cerameicus[2], and from that of its conducting to Eleusis the Thriasian gates, or gates of Thria[3]. From a passage in Plutarch's life of Sylla (to be more minutely considered hereafter) it seems also to have been occasionally named the Sacred Gate, as leading into the Sacred Way.

As it is natural to suppose that anciently the principal roads into Athens from the surrounding places followed nearly the same direction

[1] .....ταφῆναι δὲ Ἀνθεμόκριτον παρὰ τὰς Θριασίας πύλας, αἱ νῦν Δίπυλον ὀνομάζονται. Plutarch. Parall. in Pericl.

.....ἰοῦσι δ' ἐπ' Ἐλευσῖνα ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν ἣν Ἀθηναῖοι καλοῦσιν Ὁδὸν Ἱερὰν, Ἀνθεμοκρίτου πεποίηται μνῆμα. Pausan. Attic. c. 36.

Ἰσαῖος ἐν τῷ πρὸς Καλυδῶνα "τότε βαλανεῖον τὸ παρ' Ἀνθεμοκρίτου ἀνδρίαντα" τουτέστι πρὸς ταῖς Θριασίαις πύλαις. Harpocrat. in Ἀνθεμόκριτος.

[2] Δημιάσι πύλαις..... Οἱ δὲ τὰς Κεραμεικὰς πύλας· πρὸς γὰρ αὐτάς φασιν ἐστάναι τὰς πόρνας. Hesych. in Δημιάσι.

Compare this with the authorities cited in note 2, page 74.

[3] See above in note 1. Thria was a demus and plain near Eleusis, the road to which was the same as that of Eleusis, or the Sacred Way.

as at the present day, we must look for the site of Dipylum by quitting modern Athens at the Móra Kápesi, or πόρτα τῆς Μορέας, which is so called as leading to the Moréa by Eleusis and Megara.

There can be little doubt that this road follows the Sacred Way, since it proceeds directly across the plain to a remarkable gap in the hills on the western side of the plain of Athens, where we still trace the ancient road, with remains of several of the monuments which stood on either side of it.

Following the direction of this route from the gate of the Moréa, until we reach the line of the ancient walls of Athens, we find, at a distance of about 300 yards, several vestiges of these walls crossing a hollow to the northward of a small church upon a rock, dedicated to St. Athanasius. Here are even some appearances of the foundations of a gate; and here, therefore, without hesitation, we may fix the site of Dipylum.

Near the same spot there is a turning from the Moréa road to the right, leading ultimately to Khassiá, Phyle, and Thebes, but first to two small hills, situated about a mile from the modern walls; a little beyond which, the road passes through the olive woods, and in the midst of them traverses the Cephissus, running

in two branches. The heights very clearly mark the site of the demus of Colonus, chiefly celebrated as the scene of the tragedy of Sophocles, intituled Œdipus Coloneus. A little short of the nearer height, on the left hand of the road, there are some open fields on the edge of the olive-groves, still bearing the name of Akadhimía, or Akadhími. Here, therefore, we have the exact situation of the Academy, as described by ancient authors, with its name still preserved. We find, moreover, that this is precisely the lowest part of the plain, where two or three little rills, running from the range of Anchesmus, terminate, and are consumed in a tract of ground on the edge of the olive-trees. These were the waters which, while they nourished the shady groves of the Academy,[1] and the plane trees, so remarkable

[1] Ἀκαδημίαν..... δενδροφορωτάτην των προαστείων. Plutarch. Parall. in Sylla.

..... ἐν Ἀκαδημίᾳ· τὸ δέ ἐστι γυμνάσιον, προάστειον ἀλσώδες ἀπό τινος ἥρωος ὀνομασθέντος Ἑκαδήμου καθὰ καὶ Εὔπολις ἐν Ἀστρατεύτοις φησὶν.

Ἐν εὐσκίοις δρόμοισιν Ἑκαδήμου θεοῦ. Suidas in Ἀκαδημία.

..... ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ Τίμων εἰς τὸν Πλάτωνα λέγων φησὶ.

Τῶν πάντων δ' ἡγεῖτο πλατύστατος, ἀλλ' ἀγορήτης
Ἡδυεπὴς τέττιξιν ἰσογράφος, οἱ θ' Ἑκαδήμου
Δένδρεσ' ἐφεζόμενοι ὄπα λειριόεσσαν ἰεῖσι.

πρότερον γὰρ διὰ τοῦ ε Ἑκαδημία ἐκαλεῖτο. Diogen. Laert. in Platon. segm. 8.

for their size,[1] made the air unhealthy.[2] They still cause the spot to be one of the most advantageous situations near Athens for the growth of fruit and pot-herbs, maintaining it in a state of verdure, when all the surrounding plain is parched with the heat of summer, but, as too often happens in southern climates, rendering the air in that season pernicious.

On the side of the road leading from the Moréa gate, towards the hill of Colonus, are seen several rude masses of masonry, the remains probably of some of the numerous sepulchral monuments which once embellished this most beautiful[3] of the suburbs of Athens. From a part of the ground, now called Akadhimía, was removed, about the year 1802, a marble (now in the British Museum) which bears part of one of the epitaphs placed in this quarter, to record the names of the Athenians who had been slain in battle. It was the sepulchral monument of

[1] Celebratæ sunt primum in ambulatione Academiæ Athenis cubitorum 36 unius radice ramos antecedente. Plin. Nat. Hist. l. 12. c. 1.

[2] Ælian. Var. Hist. l. 9. c. 10.
Porphyr. de Abstinent. ab esu animal.
Ænæa. Gazæ. Theophrast. sive de Immort. Anim.
St. Basil. Homil. de legendis libris Gentilium.
Id. Orat. de Temperantiâ et Incontinentiâ.

[3] ..... το δημόσιον σῆμα, ὁ ἐστὶ ἐπὶ του καλλίστου προαστείου της πόλεως. Thucyd. l. 2, c. 70.

the men who fell at Potidæa, in the year preceding the commencement of the Peloponnesian war, or 432 B. C.[1] Thus from the situation where this stone was found, it is no less useful in the illustration of topography, than important as a historical and palæographical monument.

Although the same rule which leads us to look for Dipylum on the modern road to Eleusis is applicable to a search for the Peiraic gate, it does not directly follow that it will guide us to the site of this gate with the same certainty. The road to Eleusis passes, and must in all ages have passed, through the remarkable opening in Mount Œgaleos, already alluded to, which leads to the bay of Eleusis, and in the middle of which stands the monastery of Dháfni. Our certainty with regard to the site of Colonus and the Academy, affords also the clearest evidence as to the direction of the Sacred Way from the Moréa gate to the pass of Dháfni; and thus furnished with the two extremities of the line, we can have no doubt as to the site of Dipylum, which must have been at the intersection of that line with the still existing line of the ancient walls.

In regard to the road from the harbour of

[1] See an excellent memoir upon this inscription in Visconti's Elgin Marbles, p. 171.

Peiræeus to the Peiraic gate, the case is somewhat different. The demus of Peiræeus, instead of being a mere point like the pass of Dháfni, occupied a considerable space; and its site is at a much greater distance from Athens than the pass of Dháfni. There might have been, and undoubtedly were, therefore, various roads from Peiræeus to Athens, according to the parts of the demus, or of the harbour, that the passenger was coming from, and according to the quarter of Athens to which he was going.

There must, however, have been some particular point in the harbour where strangers usually landed, and from whence there appears to have been a carriage road[1] to some gate of the city, which formed the principal entrance into the city in this direction.

We can hardly doubt that the gate by which Pausanias, after having described Peiræeus and some objects on the way from thence towards Athens, conducts his reader into the city, is the same as that which Plutarch calls the Peiraic gate. Independently of the natural presumption that such was the case, it is to be observed that Pausanias notices at the gate by which he enters Athens, a monument, ornamented with the statue of an armed man standing by a

[1] Xenoph. Hellen. l. 2. c. 4. See the passage in p. 92.

horse, the work of Praxiteles.[1] It is well known that a man standing by a horse was a common type on the monument of a person who received heroic honours, a distinction which became so common in the latter ages of Greece, that sepulchral stones of the most ordinary kind are still found in great numbers, with this type in relief, accompanied by the person's name with ἥρως annexed to it. Now as we learn from Plutarch that the *heroic* monument of Chalcodon stood at the Peiraic gate,[2] there seems little doubt that the monument described by Pausanias at the gate by which he entered Athens was the heroum of Chalcodon, and that the gate was the same called Peiraic by Plutarch.

There are two circumstances which strongly mark the position of this gate to have been at

[1] Ἔστι δὲ τάφος οὐ πόρρω τῶν πυλῶν, ἐπίθεμα ἔχων στρατιώτην, ἵππῳ παρεστηκότα· ὁντινα μὲν οὐκ οἶδα, Πραξιτέλης δὲ καὶ τὸν ἵππον καὶ τὸν στρατιώτην ἐποίησεν. Pausan. Attic. c. 2.

Pausanias, in here saying that he knew not to whom this monument was erected, could hardly have been sincere, for it is incredible that the Athenians should have lost all memory of the intention of one of the works of Praxiteles. Pausanias was perhaps dissatisfied with the account given by the Athenian antiquaries, or the statue may recently have been converted into that of some Roman, a process which was not uncommon in his time.

[2] τὰς πύλας παρὰ τὸ Χαλκώδοντος ἡρῶον, ἃς νῦν Πειραϊκὰς ὀνομάζουσι. Plutarch. Parall. in Thes.

no great distance from Dipylum to the S.W. The one is, that Pausanias enters through it into the Cerameicus, which we have already seen to have been the quarter adjacent to Dipylum; the other, that Sylla is related by Plutarch[1] to have broken down all the city-wall between the Sacred and Peiraic gates, previous to the assault of the city, which filled with blood all the Cérameicus within Dipylum. As we cannot believe that any other gate bore the epithet of sacred than Dipylum, which was the beginning of the Sacred Way, and the gate

[1] Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ λέγεταί τινας ἐν Κεραμεικῷ πρεσβυτῶν ἀκούσαντας διαλεγομένων πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ κακιζόντων τὸν τύραννον (Ἀριστιῶνα) ὡς μὴ φυλάττοντα τοῦ τείχους τὴν περὶ τὸ Ἑπτάχαλκον ἔφοδον καὶ προσβολὴν ᾗ μόνῃ δυνατὸν εἶναι καὶ ῥάδιον ὑπερβῆναι τοὺς πολεμίους, ἀπαγγεῖλαι ταῦτα πρὸς τὸν Σύλλαν· ὁ δ' οὐ κατεφρόνησεν ἀλλ' ἐπέλθων νυκτὸς καὶ θεασάμενος τὸν τόπον ἀλώσιμον εἶχετο τοῦ ἔργου. * * * * Κατελήφθη μὲν οὖν ἡ πόλις ἐκεῖθεν, ὡς Ἀθηναίων οἱ πρεσβύτατοι διεμνημόνευον· αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Σύλλας τὸ μεταξὺ τῆς Πειραικῆς πύλης καὶ της Ἱερᾶς κατασκάψας καὶ συνομαλύνας περὶ μέσας νύκτας ἐσήλαυνε φρικώδης, &c. . . . . ἄνευ γὰρ κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην πόλιν ἀναιρεθέντων ὁ περὶ τὴν ἀγοράν φόνος ἔπεσχε πάντα τὸν ἐντὸς τοῦ Διπύλου Κεραμεικόν· πολλοῖς δὲ λέγεται καὶ διὰ πυλῶν κατακλύσαι τὸ προάστειον. Plutarch. Parall. in Sylla. In regard to the story here mentioned by Plutarch of the blood having flowed from the inner Cerameicus through Dipylum into the Suburb, it is observable that the spot, where I have placed Dipylum, is one of the very few in the western walls of Athens, where the shape of the ground would have admitted of such an occurrence.

through which the Mystæ marched in their progress from the Cerameicus to Eleusis, it seems that the breach made by Sylla was from Dipylum to the Peiraic gate. This gives the strongest presumption that the Peiraic was the next gate to Dipylum. And as in the modern walls the next gate to the Móra Kápesi is that which is called Aslán Kápesi as leading to the Aslán Limáni, the name applied by the Turks to port Peiræeus,[1] it hence becomes further probable that the ancient Peiraic gate should (like Dipylum on the modern road to Eleusis) be searched for in the modern road from the Aslán Kápesi to Peiræeus, at the intersection of that road with the line of the ancient walls. The Aslán Kápesi is situated 120 yards south of the Theseium, consequently in a part of the inner Cerameicus.

Stuart, however, placed the Peiraic gate in a very different situation, namely, in the hollow between the heights of Pnyx and Museium, near the spot where now stands a small church of St. Demetrius,[2] surnamed Lumbardháris, or

[1] For a similar reason, the Greeks call the Aslán Kápesi the gate of Dhráko.

[2] Ἅγιος Δημήτριος ὁ Λουμπαρδάρης. This epithet was bestowed upon Saint Demetrius for his miraculous interposition in defence of his church, against which one of the Disdars, or Turkish governors of the citadel of Athens, had prepared to try the power of his artillery, when the night

the Bombardier. As Stuart has been followed in this opinion by the generality of travellers, it becomes necessary to examine the question more minutely, and to consider whether this, or any other situation on the southern and western side of the city, in the line of the ancient walls, between Dipylum and the Ilissus, has an equal or better claim to be considered the site of the Porta Peiraica than that which I have just indicated as being upon a first view of the question the probable position of this gate.

Fortunately for the inquiry, there can be very little doubt with regard to the exact situation of the several gates of the city on this side. Foundations of the ancient walls, following the crest of the ridge of hills which here bordered the site of Athens, are traceable all the way from the site of Dipylum to the Ilissus. There are three very marked divisions in this ridge, the Museium to the south, the hill of Pnyx in the middle, and to the north a lower rocky height, which, for distinction sake, may be called Lycabettus, although, as I have already observed, that name probably belonged to the entire ridge. We cannot hesitate

before he put his design into execution, a powder magazine close to the Disdar's house was inflamed by lightning, and himself and his family perished in the explosion. The magazine occupied a part of the Propylæa.

in believing that two of the gates leading into the city on this side, were in the two passes between these three hills; and there are even appearances on the foundations of the ancient walls that strongly corroborate the supposition. It is probable there was also a third gate in some part of the ancient wall, between the southern part of the hill of Museium and the Ilissus.

Upon examining the existing remains of the two Long Walls, we find that from near the eastern foot of the hills which formed the Peiraic peninsula,[1] they began to run in a parallel line, only 550 feet asunder, directly towards the Acropolis, and that they preserve this line and relative position wherever they are traceable. The pass of Lumbardhári, between the heights of Pnyx and Museium, falls exactly on this line. Whether the Long Walls diverged, therefore, on arriving at the foot of the hills of Museium and Pnyx, or whether they were continued in the same parallel line quite to the ancient peribolus, which runs along the summit of these hills, it seems equally evident that the gate of Lumbardhári was the termination of the great street inclosed between the two

[1] By this expression is meant the entire peninsula included between the head of Port Peiræeus, and the Bay of Phalerum, which includes within it the interior peninsula of Munychia.

Long Walls, and consequently that it was the communication, not from Peiræeus to the Cerameicus, adjacent to Dipylum, which we have already seen to have been the direction of Pausanias in conducting his reader into the city, but from Phalerum and the central parts of the Peiraic peninsula to the Acropolis and central parts of Athens.

It can scarcely be doubted that the road which Pausanias followed from Peiræeus to the Peiraic gate, was not between the two Long Walls, but that like the modern road from the Peiræeus to the western quarter of the modern city, it passed to the northward of the northern Long Wall, for he mentions that there were several sepulchres on the way, as there were likewise on the Phaleric road on the opposite side of the Long Walls.[1] Here, therefore, he is exactly in agreement with Plato, who describing the route of Leontius from Peiræeus to Athens, says, that he passed under the northern Long Wall on the outside of it, and through the public burying-ground.[2]

There can be little doubt also that this was

[1] Pausan. Attic. c. 1, 2.

[2] ..... ὡς ἄρα Λεόντιος ὁ Ἀγλαίωνος ἀνίων ἐκ Πειραιέως ὑπὸ τὸ βορεῖον τεῖχος ἐκτὸς αἰσθανόμενος νεκροὺς παρὰ τῷ δημείῳ κειμένους, ἅμα μὲν ἰδεῖν ἐπιθυμοῖ, ἅμα δ'αὖ δυσχεραίνοι, &c. Plato de Republ. l. 4. vol. 2. p. 440. Ed. Serran.

the direction of the Hamaxitus, or great commercial carriage-road, which led from the Peiræeus to Athens, for that it was not between the Long Walls is strongly argued by the probability that it led not from the centre of the Peiraic peninsula, which was high and rocky, to the central parts of Athens, but from the head of port Peiræeus to the Cerameicus, and the Agora. So that in the passage of Xenophon,[1] where the Hamaxitus is mentioned, and where he informs us that the thousand men from Phyle, under Thrasybulus, who had taken possession of the Peiræeus, and who, when they found themselves unable to defend the open position of the Hamaxitus against the troops of the thirty tyrants, advancing against them from the city, retreated into Munychia, he probably meant by the Hamaxitus, not a street between the Long Walls, but a great road leading from the Peiræeus to the Cerameicus, parallel to the northern Long Wall; for although the Long Walls had then

[1] Ἐκ δὲ τούτου λαβών ὁ Θρασύβουλος τοὺς ἀπὸ Φυλῆς περὶ χιλίους ἤδη ξυνειλεγμένους, ἀφικνεῖται τῆς νυκτὸς ἐς τὸν Πειραιᾶ· οἱ δὲ Τριάκοντα, ἐπεὶ ἤσθοντο ταῦτα ἐξοηθοῦν εὐθὺς αὐτοῖς ξὺν τε τοῖς Λακωνικοῖς καὶ ξὺν τοῖς ἱππεῦσι καὶ τοῖς ὁπλίταις· ἔπειτα ἐχώρουν κατὰ τὴν ἐς τὸν Πειραιᾶ Ἁμάξιτον ἀναφέρουσαν· οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Φυλῆς ἔτι μὲν ἐπεχείρησαν μὲν ἀνιέναι αὐτούς· ἐπεὶ δὲ μέγας ὁ κύκλος ὢν πολλῆς φυλακῆς ἐδόκει δεῖσθαι οὔπω πολλοῖς οὖσι, ξυνεσπειράθησαν ἐπὶ τὴν Μουνυχίαν. Xenophon. Hellenic. l. 2. c. 4.

been recently destroyed by the Lacedæmonians, it can hardly be supposed that so hasty an operation as that is known to have been, and one so soon repaired, should not have left some remains of walls, capable of affording protection to the flanks of a small body of men, if Thrasybulus had had it in his power to take up that position: nor is it probable, had such been the position of Thrasybulus, that Xenophon would have omitted to mention it. The position of Thrasybulus on the Hamaxitus, seems, therefore, to have been to the northward of the northern Long Wall.

Again, in regard to the attack upon Athens by Sylla, we can hardly doubt that when he broke down the Athenian wall, he confined his operation to that part of the wall situated in the plain, which would give him the easiest and most direct access into the Cerameicus, where he afterwards entered, this being also the part of the wall most exposed to the positions[1] from which his operations against Athens were carried on, and particularly to the Academy,[2] at which place he had felled trees to be used in the construction of engines of attack. It is very im-

[1] Appian de Bell. Mithridat. c. 33.

[2] ὑλὴν δὲ τῆς Ἀκαδημίας ἔκοπτε καὶ μηχανὰς εἰργάζετο μεγίστας. Id. ibid. c. 30.

τὴν τε Ἀκαδημίαν ἔκειρε τὴν δενδροφορωτάτην τῶν προαστείων. Plutarch. Parall. in Sylla.

probable that he should have lost his time in breaching any part of the wall, on the difficult approach of the hill of Pnyx, as he must have done on the supposition that the Peiraic gate was in the pass of Lumbardhári, between Pnyx and Museium: not to mention the impossibility in his circumstances of throwing down not less than 1400 yards of wall between evening and midnight.

If the foregoing reasoning has any validity, we are reduced in our searches for the Porta Peiraica, either to the gate, which stood at the opening between Pnyx and Lycabettus, or to another, some vestiges of which are still to be seen about midway between the former and Dipylum, on the north side of Lycabettus.

It is difficult to decide which of the gates, standing in these two positions, has the better claim to be considered the Peiraic gate. On account of the diminished size of modern Athens, one gate is now sufficient for the traffic in this direction, which anciently employed two, and instead of a gate on either side of Lycabettus, there is now only one, namely, the Aslán Kápesi, or gate of Dhráko, which is so situated, that the modern road from Peiræeus, in approaching the western side of mount Lycabettus, separates into two branches, one of which turns round the northern, and the other round the southern

side of Lycabettus, and they join again just before the entrance of the Aslán Kápesi. The road on the north is preferred for loaded beasts of burthen, on account of its being more level, though more circuitous; the latter by other passengers, from its being nearer, though the ascent and descent of the pass between Lycabettus and Pnyx, but still more the descent into the hollow, lying between those heights and the Areiopagus, is considerably steep.

The arguments in favour of each of these gates are nearly balanced. On the one hand, it does not appear probable that the Peiraic gate should have been situated so far out of the direct line from the centre of Cerameicus to the head of port Peiræeus, as must have been the gate which stood on the north side of Lycabettus: on the other hand, the steep descent from the Pnyco-Lycabettian pass into the city seems at first sight an inconvenient situation for the porticos which reached from thence to the Ceramic Agora. Upon this point, however, we cannot be quite sure what may have been the ideas of the ancients; the variety of ground may have given great advantages to the appearance of many of the buildings, and there is certainly no point in the whole circuit of the walls, where a stranger having landed at Peiræeus, and entering Athens for the first time, would have

been presented with so imposing a view of the public buildings of the city, as in this spot. The edifices of the Agora, and those upon the Areiopagus, were here presented directly before him, with the magnificent group of the Propylæa and Parthenon rising above them in all their majesty.

A remarkable passage cited by Plutarch, in his life of Theseus, from an Athenian antiquary of the name of Cleidemus, is in favour of the Peiraic gate having been in the Pnyco-Lycabettian pass. He says, that when the Amazons attacked Athens, their right wing was stationed at Chrysa near Pnyx; that the Athenians attacked them from the Museium; that the tombs of those who fell were seen in the street leading to the Peiraic gate, near the heroum of Chalcodon; and that the Athenians being worsted in this position, retreated to the temple of the Furies, where they remained until they received reinforcements from Palladium, Ardettus,[1] and Lyceium. We have already

[1] Ardettus was a demus on the banks of the Ilissus, (Pollux, l. 8. c. 10.) near the Panathenaic stadium, (Harpocrat. in Ἀρδηττος.) consequently not far from the Lyceium. It may be inferred, therefore, from the passage of Plutarch, mentioned in the text, that the Palladium, which appears from Pausanias and other writers to have been one of the Athenian courts of justice, was in the north-eastern part of the city.

seen[1] that the temple of the Furies was near the eastern end of the Areiopagus, which hill, it would appear from Æschylus, then became the post of the Amazons. In this action, therefore, every thing accords with the topography, if we place the Peiraic gate at the Pnyco-Lycabettian pass, but not so well, if it be placed halfway between this point and Dipylum.

[1] Pausanias Attic. c. 28.

SECTION IV.

First Part of the Route of Pausanias.—From the Stoa Basileius to Enneacrunus.

The next inquiry is, how far either of the positions just indicated will accord with the relative situations of the Peiraic gate and of the buildings of the Cerameicus, as indicated by Pausanias; we may then endeavour to trace his route through the other parts of the city.

It has been seen, that after having entered through the Peiraic gate, and passed through a portico leading to the Cerameicus, he arrives at the Stoa Basileius.

His subsequent progress through the city may be divided into five parts.

1. Departing from the Stoa Basileius, he descends to the fountain of Enneacrunus.

2. Resuming his situation at the same portico, he proceeds from thence to the Pœcile, and describes that and the other buildings on the northern side of the city, as far as the Prytaneium.

3. He descends from the Prytaneium to the temple of Jupiter Olympius, and from thence proceeds to describe the adjacent regions without the city; namely, the suburb called the Gardens, the Gymnasia of Lyceium and Cyno-

sarges, and the suburb of Agræ, ending with the Stadium.

4. Beginning anew from the Prytaneium, he proceeds by the quarter of Tripodes to the temple and theatre of Bacchus, and mounts from thence to the Propylæa of the Acropolis.

5. Lastly, he describes the Acropolis, and having descended from thence to the Areiopagus, concludes with an account of the cemetery of the exterior Cerameicus, and the third of the great Athenian Gymnasia without the walls, namely, the Academy.

As Pausanias, after arriving at the Stoa Basileius[1], describes two routes, one leading from that Stoa by the Metroum and temple of Mars to Enneacrunus, and the other from the same point by the Prytaneium to the Olympium and suburb of Agræ, his object appears to have been, first, to convey the reader through the parts of the city on the south side of the Areiopagus and Acropolis, and afterwards through the opposite division of the city, on the north side of the same ridge of heights. The point of the ridge nearest to the Peiraic gate, or the western

[1] The three streets which met near the Stoa Basileius, probably formed the τρίοδος of the Cerameicus, where stood a four-headed Hermes, the work of Telesarchides. Hesych. in Ἑρμῆς τριπρόσωπος.—Photii Lex. M. S. in Ἑρμῆς τετράκρανος. Epigram. Græc. ap. Brodæi Antholog. Append. p. 13.

end of the Areiopagus, seems, therefore, to be the most natural point for the separation of the two routes, or, in other words, for the site of the Stoa Basileius; and the conjecture receives some confirmation from the circumstance, that the Basileus or second archon, from whom the Stoa Basileius took its name, had the charge of prosecutor in the court of Areiopagus[1]; and that, in the time of Demosthenes, the court itself was occasionally, if not generally, assembled in the Stoa Basileius[2], instead of the ancient inclosure on the summit of the Areiopagus, at its eastern end. In whichever of the two spots described in the preceding pages, we place the Peiraïc gate, it is observable that the western end of the Areiopagus is equally suited to the position of the Stoa Basileius: the difference would be, that, in the one case, the stoa, or portico of communication from the gate to the Ceramic Agora, must have stood on the northern side of Lycabettus; in the other case, on its southern side.

Having assumed this position then, for the Stoa Basileius, it will follow, from what has al-

[1] Pollux, l. 8. c. 10.

[2] ..τὴν ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλήν, ὅταν ἐν τῇ Βασιλείῳ Στοᾷ καθεζομένη περισχοινίζηται κατὰ πολλὴν ἡσυχίαν ἐφ' ἑαυτῆς εἶναι καὶ ἅπαντας ἐκποδὼν ὑποχωρεῖν.—Demosth. in Aristogit. p. 776, Ed. Reiske.

ready been observed respecting the directions of the first and second divisions of the route of Pausanias, that all the buildings mentioned by him in succession, between the Stoa Basileius and Enneacrunus, namely, the temple of Apollo Patrous, the Metrum, the Buleuterium, or Senate House of the Five Hundred, the Tholus, and the Temple of Mars, were on the southern side of the Areiopagus.

There is also reason to believe that none of these buildings were to the eastward or southward of the hollow lying between the west end of the Acropolis, and the east end of the Areiopagus, which hollow formed the ascent to the Acropolis, as well from the southern as from the northern parts of the city; for, independently of the presumption that the temple of Mars was near the hill which took its name from that deity, we learn, from Arrian[1], a contemporary of Pausanias, that the statues of Harmodius and Aristogeiton, (which according to Pausanias were very near the temple of Mars, and according to Arrian himself, were over against the Metroum, a building not far from the same temple of

1 Ἁρμοδίου καὶ Ἀριστογείτονος χαλκαῖ εἰκόνες . . . . καὶ νῦν κεῖνται Ἀθήνησιν ἐν Κεραμεικῷ αἱ εἰκόνες, ἣ ἀνίμεν ἐς πόλιν καταντικρὺ τοῦ Μητρώου. Arrian. de Exped. Alex. l. 3. c. 16.

It is almost superfluous to remark, that the word πόλις, here certainly means Acropolis. Thucydides (l. 2. c. 15.) says, ὑπὸ Θησέως . . πρὸ τούτου ἡ Ἀκρόπολις ἡ νῦν οὖσα Πόλις

Mars) were on the ascent to the Acropolis. It is the more probable that the temple of Mars was not situated further south-eastward than this spot, because the same statues of Harmodius and Aristogeiton are repeatedly mentioned as having been in the Agora, and although a part of the Agora was in Melite, as we learn from a comparison of the authorities relating to the positions of the Macra Stoa, Eurysaceium, and Colonus Agoræus[1], and that Melite (having comprehended the Eurysaceium, a monument in the

ἦν . . . . καλεῖται δὲ διὰ τὴν παλαιὰν ταύτην κατοίκησιν καὶ ἡ Ἀκρόπολις μεχρὶ τοῦδε ἔτι ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων Πόλις.

The architectural inscription relating to the Erechtheium reported by Chandler, and explained by Mr. Wilkins (Atheniensia, p. 197.) begins with Ἐπιστάται τοῦ νέω τοῦ ἐν πολει, ἐν ᾧ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἄγαλμα, &c.

In another inscription on the architrave of the outer modern gate of the citadel, we find Φ. Σ. Μαρκελλῖνος Φλαμ. καὶ ἀπὸ Ἀγωνοθέτων ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων τὰς πυλῶνας τῇ πόλει.

See also Æschyl. Eumenid. v. 688.—Aristoph. Lysist. v. 759, 911.—Stephan. Byzant. in Ἀθῆναι.—Aristid. in Panath.

[1] For the proof of the Macra Stoa having been in the Agora, and in Melite, see page 76, note 2.

Δύο γὰρ ὄντων τῶν Κολωνῶν ὁ μεν Ἵππιος ἐκαλεῖτο, οὗ μέμνονται ὡς Οἰδίποδος εἰς αὐτὸν καταφύγοντος, ὁ δ' ἦν ἐν Ἀγορᾷ παρὰ τὸ Εὐρυσάκειον, οὗ συνίεσαν οἱ μισθαρνοῦντες. Pollux, l. 7. c. 29.

τοὺς Μισθώτους Κολωνίτας ὠνόμαζον, ἐπειδὴ παρὰ τῷ Κολωνῷ εἱστήκασιν, ὃς ἐστὶ πλησίον τῆς Ἀγορᾶς, ἔνθα τὸ Ἡφαίστειον καὶ τὸ Εὐρυσάκειον ἐστὶ· ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ Κολωνὸς οὗτος Ἀγοραῖος. Harpocrat. in Κολωνίτας.

Agora, near the temple of Vulcan, which temple stood above the Stoa Basileius[1]) must also have included all the eastern part of the hill of Areiopagus[2]; yet, from what we have already seen, of the synonymous use of the words Cerameicus and Agora, it is impossible not to believe, that by much the largest portion of the Agora was in the quarter of Cerameicus. The great extent of space to the west and north-west of the Propylæa, which we are forced, upon the strongest evidence, to include within the ancient Agora, gives sufficient reason to suspect that the ancient Agora never extended to the southward and eastward of the ascent to the Acropolis; on the

Εὐρυσάκειον . . . τέμενός ἐστιν Εὐρυσάκους, τοῦ Αἴαντος ἐν Ἀθήναις . . . ἐν Μελίτῃ. Harpocrat. in Εὐρυς.

Eurysaces, son of Ajax, dwelt in Melite, according to Plutarch (Paral. in Solon.)

1 Pausan. Attic. c. 14.

2 It may be thought, perhaps, in reference to the passage of Arrian cited in page 101, that the statues near the Metroum and temple of Mars, being there stated to have been *in Cerameicus*, near the ascent to the Acropolis, Melite could not have extended over the eastern part of the hill of Areiopagus; but it is to be observed, that the common practice of using the words Cerameicus and Agora as synonymous, is so clearly demonstrated by the passages in page 77, that we cannot take the words of Arrian as a proof of the extent of Cerameicus as a *quarter*, or in what manner its boundaries were regulated, ἐν τοῖς ὁρισμοῖς τῆς πόλεως, to use the expression of the Scholiast, who furnishes us with the evidence upon the extent of Melite.

other hand, that it did extend very nearly to the Propylæa may be inferred from Pausanias and Apollodorus, the former of whom[1] mentions a statue of Venus Pandemus as standing a little below the Propylæa, and the latter of whom states the same statue to have been in or near the Agora[2]. It may here be remarked, that the great extent of the ancient Agora is in some measure accounted for by that Agora, or, at least, its most frequented parts, having moved their position in different periods of the republic. Thus, in the remotest ages, when the Acropolis or Cecropia was almost the only inhabited part of the site of Athens, it is natural to believe, that the Agora or market-place resorted to from the neighbouring country, was a little below the entrance of Cecropia, free admission to which would probably not be permitted to strangers, even from the other parts of Attica, in those uncivilized ages. When the chief sacred buildings were erected (as Thucydides[3] informs us), on the south side of the Acropolis, and the city began to spread over the vallies to the south and west of the Acropolis, the Agora may have extended into the

[1] Pausan. Attic. c. 22.

[2] Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν τῷ περὶ Θεῶν Πάνδημον φησὶν Ἀθήνησι κληθῆναι τὴν ἀφιδρευθεῖσαν περὶ τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἀγοράν. Harpocrat. in Πάνδημος Ἀφροδίτη.

[3] Thucyd. l. 2. c. 15.

western side of the same space, with that most ancient place of popular assembly, the Pnyx, above the middle of it. By degrees the city stretched round the Acropolis, and the Agora became enlarged in the same direction, until at length the best inhabited part of the city being on the north side of the Acropolis, the old Agora having been defiled by the massacre of Sylla, and its buildings beginning to fall into decay, the Agora became fixed, about the time of Augustus, in the situation where we now see the portal of that Agora. Though the city has contracted its circuit since that time, and the southern and western parts of the ancient site have become quite uninhabited, the position of the central and most frequented quarter is the same as in the time of the Romans, the modern Bazar occupying exactly the same situation as the Eretrian, or Roman Agora. It thus appears highly probable, that, in the most flourishing times of the republic, the Agora encircled and inclosed within its boundaries the whole of the hill of Areiopagus, round which, it is probable, that Xenophon[1] intended that the Athenian horsemen should march, when he recommended

[1] ὅσων ἱερὰ καὶ ἀγάλματα ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἐστι ταῦτα, ἀρξάμενοι ἀπὸ τῶν Ἑρμῶν κύκλῳ περὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ περιελαύνοιεν τιμῶντες τοὺς θεούς.... Ἐπειδὰν δὲ πάλιν πρὸς ταῖς Ἑρμαῖς γίνωνται περιεληλακότες, &c. Xenoph. Hipparch. c. 3.

them to set out from the Hermæ in the Agora, and having visited all the temples of the gods in their progress round the Agora, to return to the Hermæ.

If the position of the temple of Mars was such as I have here supposed, what becomes, it may be asked, of all the space between it and the neighbourhood of Ilissus, and how can we account for Pausanias having leapt at once from the Areiopagus to the Odeium, near Callirhoe? The difficulty is undoubtedly great, and perhaps the only one of magnitude which occurs in regard to the topography of Athens; but when we consider the proofs which have already been given of the incompleteness of Pausanias's description in several respects, of the intention which he repeatedly announces of describing only the things most deserving of notice, together with the existence in his time of several very diffuse descriptions of Athens by other authors, it becomes not at all unlikely that his account of this part of the city has been purposely neglected by him. I am inclined to think that the valley on the south side of the Acropolis, nearly as far as the neighbourhood of Enneacrunus, formed the principal part of the quarter of Melite, and that the gate which stood at Lumbardhári was the Melitensian gate, or Portæ Melitides; for the hollow way in which it stands answers better than any other position

on the site of Athens, to the road "through the hollow," (Διὰ Κοίλης)[1] afterwards called the quarter of Cœle, where were the Cimonian sepulchres, and where the historian Thucydides was buried[2]. We find some remarkable sepulchral grottos just without the site of the gate, and the place is contiguous to the quarter of Pnyx, where Cimon dwelt[3]. I am aware that by several travellers Cœle has been held to be that remarkable hollow which lies between the hills of Pnyx and Areiopagus; but this valley was, in very early times, inclosed within the city; and we know it to have been an ancient Athenian law rigorously observed even in the time of the Romans[4], that no person should be buried within the walls. The words, indeed, of Herodotus, πρὸ τοῦ ἄστεος, sufficiently prove that

[1] ..τέθαπται δὲ Κίμων πρὸ τοῦ ἄστεος πέρην τῆς Διὰ Κοίλης καλεομένης ὁδοῦ. Herod. l. 6. c. 103.

[2] Plutarch. Parall. in Cimon.

ἐστὶ δὲ αὐτοῦ (Θουκιδίδου) τάφος πλησίον τῶν πυλῶν ἐν χωρίῳ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ὁ Κοίλη καλεῖται.....πρὸς γὰρ ταῖς Μελιτίσι πύλαις καλουμέναις ἐστὶν ἐν Κοίλῃ τὰ καλούμενα Κιμόνια μνήματα. Marcellinus in vita Thucyd.

[3] Didymus ap. Æl. Aristid. in argum. Cimon.

[4] Cicero de Legibus. l. 2. c. 23.

Ab Atheniensibus locum sepulturæ impetrare non potui, quod religione se impediri dicerent, neque tamen id antea cuiquam concesserant. Quod proximum fuit, uti in quo vellemus gymnasio eum (Marcellum) sepeliremus nobis permiserunt. Nos in nobilissimo orbis terrarum gymnasio Academia locum delegimus. Cicero ad Divers. l. 4. epist. 12.

the Cimonian tombs were just without the city walls, which is precisely the case with regard to the catacombs near the church of Lumbardhári.

In support of the opinion that a great part of the valley on the south side of the Acropolis belonged to Melite, it is observable that none of the buildings known to have been in Melite are described by Pausanias. He makes no mention of the house of Phocion [1], or of the temple dedicated to Melanippus, son of Theseus [2], or of that built by Themistocles in honour of Diana Aristobulá, in which Plutarch, a cotemporary of Pausanias, says, that in his time [3], there was a statue of the founder, or of a celebrated temple of Hercules Alexicacus, with a no less celebrated statue by Ageladas, of Argos, the master of Phidias [4], or of the place of rehearsal of the tragedians [5], all of which were in Melite. The place of rehearsal, as belonging to the artisans of Bacchus [6], was probably near the theatre of

[1] Plutarch. Parall. in Phocion.

[2] Harpocrat. in Μελανιππεῖον.

[3] Plutarch. Parall. in Themistocl. Idem de Malign. Herod.

[4] Hesych. in Ἐκμελίτης 504 et Schol. Aristoph. Ran. v. Tzetzes Chil. 8. c. 192. Suidas in Γέλαδας.

[5] Hesych. in Μελιτέων οἶκος.

[6] Τεχνῖται Διονυσιακοὶ, or οἱ περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνῖται, were the usual expressions for the tragedians and comedians of Athens. See Aristot. in Probl. Plutarch. in Probl. Rom.

Bacchus, which standing at the foot of the Acropolis just above the quarter in question, thus furnishes an additional argument that Melite was there situated. Strong reasons exist, therefore, for thinking, either that there is a real hiatus in the text of the eighth chapter of the Attica of Pausanias, before the passage which begins so abruptly with the words Τοῦ θεάτρου δὲ ὁ καλοῦσιν Ὠδεῖον, or that our author has thought proper to pass over several objects in this quarter of the city without notice; whether, because they were in a ruinous state, or appeared otherwise uninteresting to him, or because their description would have drawn out his narrative to an inconvenient length, or might have involved questions relating to the Romans, upon whom he generally expresses himself with considerable reserve, it is impossible to conjecture.

Odeium.

Of the Odeium, which, according to Pausanias, stood near Enneacrunus, not a vestige now remains, but a few remarks concerning it, may assist in elucidating the topography of Athens. It has already been seen, that this building is not to be confounded either with the great Dionysiac theatre, or with the theatre constructed by Pericles, in the form of the pavilion of Xerxes, or with the theatre built by Herodes under the south-west angle of the Acropolis, or with the theatre of Agrippa, which stood in the inner Cerameicus. Nor is it surprising, that

among a people so refined in their taste, and delighting so much in public spectacles as the Athenians, there should have been five buildings destined to musical or dramatic exhibitions; not to mention that all these buildings served occasionally for courts of justice, or other public assemblies, frequent in their democratic government. The Odeium, near Enneacrunus, is probably that which is noticed by Xenophon[1], and which is alluded to by Strabo[2] in a passage where he enumerates the most celebrated buildings of Athens. It appears to have been not only the most important of the minor theatres of Athens, but the most ancient of all. It is obvious that there are only two which can come into competition with it in this respect, the Odeium of Pericles, and the Dionysiac theatre. In regard to the former, it seems evident from the testimony of Aristophanes[3], that, about the time when Pericles erected the tent-shaped Odeium, a court which we know from Demosthenes[4] to have been that of the Thesmothetæ, or six junior archons,

[1] Xenoph. Hellen. l. 2. c. 4.

[2] Καὶ ἡ Ἀκαδημία καὶ οἱ κῆποι τῶν φιλοσόφων, καὶ τὸ Ὠδεῖον καὶ ἡ Ποικίλη Στόα. Strabo, p. 396.

[3] Οἱ μὲν ἡμῶν οὗπερ Ἄρχων· οἱ δὲ παρὰ τοὺς Ἕνδεκα
Οἱ δ' ἐν Ὠδείῳ δικάζουσ'. Aristoph. in Vesp. v. 1104.

[4] εἰς Ὠδεῖον..... δικάσασθαι..... πρὸς τοὺς Θεσμοθέτας. Demosth. in Neær.

was in the habit of meeting in another more ancient Odeium, and probably had been so accustomed ever since the time of Solon, who, among other similar changes, removed their court from the Thesmothesium, where it had before been accustomed to assemble[1]. As to the Dionysiac theatre, the earliest date which can be given to its foundation is about the 70th Olympiad, or 500 B. C.[2]; that is to say, at the time that Æschylus perfected the drama, and Agatharcus invented perspective scenery[3]; and we know that it was not completed and brought to perfection till about 350 B. C. under the administration of Lycurgus[4]: so that the Odeium near Enneacrunus seems to have been the place where the Thesmothetæ held their court, and where the rhapsodi and musicians exercised their art before the con-

[1] Suidas in Ἀρχων.

[2] Suidas in Πρατίνας.

[3] Primum Agatharcus Athenis, Æschylo dicente tragediam, scenam fecit, et de eo commentarium reliquit. Ex eo moniti Democritus et Anaxagoras de eâdem re scripserunt quemadmodum oporteat ad aciem oculorum radiorumque extensionem, certo loco centro constituto, ad lineas ratione naturali respondere, uti de incertâ re certæ imagines ædificiorum in scenarum picturis redderent speciem, et quæ in directis planisque frontibus sint figurata, alia abscedentia alia prominentia esse videantur. Vitruv. in Proem. l. 7.

[4] Plutarch de X. Rhet. in Lycurg. Pausan. Attic. c. 29.

struction of the theatre of Bacchus[1]. The Odeium having taken its name from Ὠδή, a song; and the word Θέατρον signifying more specifically a place for seeing; the Odeium moreover being described as a *kind of theatre*, resembling the thymele of the theatrum[2]; it may be conjectured that it was a place of assembly of a ruder and more simple plan than the Dionysiac theatre, and somewhat analogous, perhaps, to the Pnyx. Upon the invention of the improved drama, a building of a new construction became necessary, such as would accommodate a greater number of persons, and give them a greater facility of seeing the spectacle than could be obtained in the Odeium, built, as it was, upon level ground, and intended for recitation and music without action, where accommodation for seeing was less necessary than in the regular drama. Hence the invention of the theatre, and hence its position upon the slope of the hill which rose above the site of the Odeium, and of the sacred inclosure of Bacchus, where the hill itself was excavated to form the central part of the building, and where an edifice

[1] Ὠδεῖον, τόπος ἐν ᾧ πρὶν τὸ θέατρον κατασκευασθῆναι, οἱ ραψῳδοὶ καὶ οἱ κιθαρῳδοὶ ἠγωνίζοντο. Hesych. in Ὠδεῖον.

[2] Ὠδεῖον Ἀθήνησι ὥσπερ θέατρον. Suidas in Ὠδεῖον.

Odeum, pars quædam theatri quæ nunc thymele vocatur. Alexand. Aphrodis. in Metaphys. l. 3. ex vers. J. Genesii.

was constructed sufficiently capacious to receive the multitudes who were often attracted to Athens from every part of Greece by the dramatic exhibitions of the Athenians, and such as might at the same time furnish a more convenient place for the public meetings of the people, who had before been inadequately accommodated in the Pnyx. The Odeium, mean time, continued to be the place of representation for musical entertainments, and one of the Athenian courts of justice. And thus the words Theatrum and Odeium seem to have been applied in every part of Greece; the former to the semicircular edifice (commonly constructed on the side of a hill) which each city possessed for its general assemblies of every kind; and the latter to the smaller theatres, built with a roof supported by columns[1], and destined to music, or to the less numerous meetings upon public affairs.

In passing immediately from the mention of Enneacrunus to that of the temple of Ceres and Proserpine, otherwise called Eleusinium, Pausanias has neglected to remark that in the intermediate space the traveller must cross the Ilissus; for it was in Agræ, the name of the Eleusinium.

[1] It has already been seen that the Odeia of Pericles and Herodes were both roofed buildings; the former is mentioned as having numerous seats and columns, (πολυέδρον καὶ πολύστυλον). Plutarch. Paral. in Pericl.

south-eastern suburb of Athens, on the left bank of the Ilissus[1], that the lesser Eleusinian mysteries were celebrated[2] at the same temple of Eleusinian Ceres, which Pausanias indicates only as being above Enneacrunus.

The mystic banks of the Ilissus were sanctified by the sacred lustrations in which its waters were employed in the lesser Eleusinian mysteries[3]; and such was the veneration in which the Eleusinium was held, that when the whole population of Attica crowded into the walls of Athens at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, the Eleusinium and Acropolis were the only places which the people scrupled to inhabit[4].

An island between the Stadium and the

[1] Διαβᾶσι δὲ τὸν Ἰλισσὸν χωρίον Ἄγραι καλούμενον καὶ ναὸς Ἀγροτέρας ἐστὶν Ἀρτεμίδος. Pausan. Attic. c. 19.

[2] Ἄγρα καὶ Ἄγραι, χωρίον..... τῆς Ἀττικῆς πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐν ᾧ τὰ μικρὰ μυστήρια ἐπιτελεῖται. Steph. Byzant. in Ἄγρα.

Ἀγρότερα Ἄρτεμις ὡς καὶ ὁ Κωμικὸς δηλοῖ, ἣ καὶ Ἀγραία παρὰ Πλάτωνι κατὰ Παυσανίαν ἀπὸ χώρας πρὸς τῷ Ἰλίσσῳ· ἡ κλίσις Ἄγρα καὶ Ἄγραι, οὗ τὰ μικρὰ ἤγετό, φησι, μυστήρια, ἃ ἐλέγετο τὰ ἐν Ἄγραις. Eustath. ad Iliad B. p. 361.

[3] Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ συνέθεντο παρὰ τὸν Ἰλισσὸν, οὗ τὸν καθαρμὸν τελοῦσι τοῖς ἐλάττοσι μυστηρίοις. Polyæn. Strateg. l. 5. c. 7.

ἐγὼ πατρικὸν ὅλβον ῥίψας εὐδαίμονα, παρ' Ἰλισσοῦ μυστικαῖς ὄχθαις ἐσκήνημαι. Himerius in Diogen. ap. Photii Myriobib.

Τοῦ διὰ θεσπεσίου φέρεται ῥόος Ἰλισσοῖο. Dionys. Perieg. v. 424.

[4] Thucyd. l. 2. c. 17.

Olympium, formed by the diverging torrents of the Ilissus, seems well adapted for a place that was closed and kept sacred from the vulgar[1]; and the foundations of a building, still observable in this island, may be those of the Eleusinium. The place agrees perfectly with the words "above Enneacrunus," by which Pausanias[2] describes the situation of the Eleusinium: and the peculiarity of the position may, perhaps, account for his silence as to the crossing of the Ilissus in the way from Enneacrunus to the Eleusinium, since the traveller had only to pass one branch of the Ilissus.

Temple of Triptolemus.

The temple of Triptolemus, which Pausanias also places above Enneacrunus, was probably that beautiful little Ionic building, which the drawings of Stuart[3] have preserved from oblivion. It formed, in his time, the church of Panaghía *on the rock*, but has now almost entirely disappeared. Travellers have sometimes taken this building for the Eleusinium, but it is not credible that so important a building as the Eleusinium should have been so small. In the outer modern gate of the Acropolis, moreover,

[1] .....τοῦ Ἐλευσινίου, καὶ εἴτι ἄλλο ϐεϐαίως κλεῖστον ἦν. Thucyd. l. 2. c. 17.

[2] ναοὶ δὲ ὑπὲρ τὴν κρήνην, ὁ μὲν Δήμητρος πεποίηται καὶ Κόρης, ἐν δὲ τῷ Τριπτολέμου κείμενον ἐστὶν ἄγαλμα. Pausan. Attic. c. 14.

[3] Antiquities of Athens, vol. i. c. 2.

there is part of an architrave, which, by the inscription upon it, appears to have belonged to the Eleusinium[1]; and its dimensions are such as to prove that the building, of which it formed a part, was much larger than the Ionic temple described by Stuart.

Temple of Eucleia.

As Pausanias, having first spoken of the Eleusinium, and then described the temple of Triptolemus, places that of Eucleia "still further[2]," (ἔτι ἀπωτέρω) in the same direction; it may safely be concluded, that it was near the left bank of the Ilissus to the south-west of the site of the church of Panaghía *on the rock*, probably at the church of Aghia Marína, which stands a little to the left of the place where the modern road from Athens to Sunium crosses the Ilissus; for both Wheler and Stuart considered this church to have been the site of an ancient building[3]. The latter observed near it, on the opposite bank of the Ilissus, some vestiges of one of the city gates; whence it would appear, that the temple of Eucleia stood a little without the gate leading to Sunium.

[1] The inscription is.... νης Ἐπικράτου Οἰναῖος μὲν οἰκίᾳ δὲ Ἀμφιτρόπηθεν Δήμητρι καὶ Κόρῃ ἀνέθηκε.

[2] .....πρὸ τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦδε, ἔνθα καὶ τοῦ Τριπτολέμου τὸ ἄγαλμα ἐστὶ ξοῦς χαλκοῦς, &c..... ἔτι δὲ ἀπωτέρω ναὸς Εὐκλείας. Pausan. Attic. c. 14.

[3] Wheler's Travels, p. 379. Stuart's Antiq. of Athens, vol. iii. p. v.

SECTION V.

Second Part of the Route of Pausanias—From the Stoa Basileius to the Prytaneium.

After having finished the first branch of his tour through Athens, and resumed his original situation at the Stoa Basileius, Pausanias proceeds to describe the parts of the city to the northward of the ridges of Areiopagus and Acropolis.

Hephæstium.

The Hephæstium, or temple of Vulcan and Minerva, having been above the Stoa Basileius, stood probably towards the western end of the ridge of Areiopagus. The eastern end was occupied by the court of Areiopagus, and the sacred entrance of the Semnæ. The temple of Venus, surnamed *Celestial*, to distinguish her from the *Popular* Venus, whose temple was near the entrance of the Acropolis, was near the Hephæstium, probably about the middle of the hill. It seems not unlikely that some steps, cut in the cliff on the north side of the hill, led to the temple of Venus Urania, as those on the south-east end led to the court of Areiopagus.

Temple of Semnæ. Venus Urania.

Pæcile.

As the Pæcile lay between the Stoa Basileius

and the New Agora, it is probable that some walls, which are still to be seen at the church of Panaghía Fanaroméni, in a line between the portal of the New Agora and the temple of Theseus; and about 200 yards distant from the former are the remains of this celebrated building.

Hermæ. The Hermæ were a street of square Mercuries in the Agora[1], communicating from the Stoa Basileius to the Pœcile[2]. From the words of Pausanias[3] there is reason to think that they were prolonged also from the Stoa Basileius towards the Pompeium.

Macra Stoa. They appear, therefore, to have nearly coincided with the Macra Stoa, which seems to have been the whole range of porticos, communicating from near the Peiraic gate to the Pœcile and New Agora.

Colonus Agoræus. As the Colonus Agoræus was behind the Macra Stoa[4], and near the Hephæstium[5], it was

[1] Near this place has lately been discovered in a well, ten feet under ground, a beautiful pedestal of very large dimensions, upon which probably stood a colossal statue.

[2] Æschines in Ctesiph. p. 573. et seq. Mnesim. ap. Athen. l. 9. c. 15. Xenoph. Hipparch. c. 3.

[3] Ἀπὸ γὰρ τῆς Ποικίλης καὶ τῆς τοῦ Βασιλέως Στόας εἰσὶν οἱ Ἑρμαῖ καλούμενοι. Mnesicles sive Callistratus ap. Harpocrat. in Ἑρμαῖ.

[4] Attic. c. 2.

[5] See page 76, note 2.

probably a part of the north-western end of the ridge of Areiopagus[1].

Gymnasium of Ptolemy.

The remains of ancient walls dispersed among the modern houses, to the northward of Fanaroméni, are probably the ruins of the Gymnasium Ptolemæum, 1. Because they are at no great distance from the Theseium, and thus agree with the situation of the Gymnasium, as indicated by Plutarch and Pausanias[2]. 2. Because an inscribed pedestal was found among the ruins[3], which had supported a statue of Ptolemy, son of Juba; and Juba is said by Pausanias to have been honoured with a statue in the Gymnasium of Ptolemy[4].

1 It appears from the Scholiast on Aristophanes, (Aves, v. 999.) that the Colonus Agoræus, or market hill, where Meton erected an astronomical instrument or table, was in a different situation, or near the town-wall in Pnyx. The gradual moving already alluded to, of the more frequented parts of the Agora, would very naturally move the Colonus, considering the uses to which it appears to have been put, at least in later times, namely that of a μισθωτήριον, or place of hire for labourers. See Hesych. in Ὀψ ἥλθες. Pollux. l. 7. c. 29. Harpocrat. in Κολωνίτας.

2 See Section I. p. 17.

3 Stuart's Antiquities of Athens, vol. 3. c. 1.

4 It may be right to observe that this Ptolemy had nothing to do with the building of the Gymnasium, which is mentioned by Cicero, (de Fin. l. 5. c. 1.) and was erected four centuries before the time of Pausanias by Ptolemy Phi-

Stuart seems to have supposed the ruins just mentioned and the wall at Fanaroméni to have been part of the same building, and that they were all included within the spacious peribolus of the Gymnasium of Ptolemy, which, according to this supposition, must have been near 2000 feet in circumference. Independently, however, of the improbability of the Gymnasium of Ptolemy having been of such vast dimensions, it is observable that there is a great difference in the masonry of the two ruins. The wall of Fanaroméni appears much more ancient than the other pieces, being built with a more solid foundation, and with equal courses of stone; whereas the other was of that kind of masonry, where the alternate courses are double the height of the others, a species which appears not to have been used in the early times of Greece. It is probable, therefore, that the wall at Fanaroméni only belonged to the Pæcile; and that the other ruins are those of the Gymnásium of Ptolemy.

Stoa of Hadrian.

The large ancient inclosure, within which stands the house of the waywode, or Turkish governor of Athens, continues to divide the opinions of travellers. When complete, it was

ladelphus, who was so great a benefactor to Athens, that he was made one of the eponymi or heroes, who gave name to the Attic tribes. (Pausan. Attic. c. 6.)

a quadrangle of 376 feet by 252, adorned at the western end with a portal and colonnade of Corinthian columns, three feet in diameter, of which ten are still standing. In the centre of the inclosure are the ruins of a building, which now form part of the church of Megáli Panaghía: they consist on one side of the remains of an arch, and on the other of an architrave, supported by a pilaster, and three columns of the Doric order, which are one foot nine inches in diameter, and of a declining period of the arts; round the inside of the quadrangle, at a distance of twenty-three feet from the wall, are also vestiges of a colonnade, and in the northern wall, which still exists, there is one large quadrangular niche thirty-four feet in length, and two circular niches nearly equal to it in diameter.

Spon and Wheler[1] conceived this building to be the temple of Jupiter Olympius, in which they certainly were mistaken. Stuart[2] thought it the Pæcile, and as he could not avoid perceiving that the columns were a work of Roman times, he supposed them to be a reparation of the Pæcile, of which history has not preserved any record. But the peribolus, the colonnade, and the building in the centre, have every appearance of being all

1 Spon, tome 2. p. 170. Wheler, p. 392.

2 Antiquities of Athens, vol. 1. ch. 5; vol. 3. p. 3.

works of the same date; and the architectural details of the western colonnade have been shown by Mr. Wilkins[1] to have so marked a resemblance to those of the arch of Hadrian near the Olympium, that there is the strongest reason to believe that this was one of the edifices erected by the great benefactor of Athens, the Emperor Hadrian. In this case, its vast dimensions are alone sufficient to justify the presumption, that it was the building which Pausanias[2] notices as the most magnificent of Hadrian's works, namely, the Stoa, which contained a colonnade of Phrygian marble, and a library, which is mentioned also by other authors[3]. The general form and distribution of the building are those of a stoa, or place for the resort of persons for walking, conversation, and reading; and the apartments projecting from the wall of the peribolus, ac-

[1] Atheniensia, p. 165.

[2] Ἁδριανὸς δὲ κατεσκευάσατο μὲν καὶ ἄλλα Ἀθηναίοις, ναὸν Ἥρας καὶ Διὸς Πανελληνίου, καὶ Θεοῖς τοῖς πᾶσιν ἱερὸν κοινόν· Τὰ δὲ ἐπιφανέστατα ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι κίονες Φρυγίου λίθου· πεποίηνται δὲ καὶ ταῖς στοαῖς κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ οἱ τοῖχοι· καὶ οἰκήματα ἐνταῦθά ἐστιν ὀρόφῳ τε ἐπιχρύσῳ καὶ ἀλαβάστρῳ λίθῳ, πρὸς δὲ ἀγάλμασι κεκοσμήμενα καὶ γραφαῖς· κατάκειται δὲ ἐς αὐτὸ βιβλία. Καὶ γυμνάσιόν ἐστιν ἐπώνυμον Ἁδριανοῦ, κίονες δὲ καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἑκατὸν λιθοτομίας τῆς Λιβύων.

Pausan. Attic. c. 18.

[3] Euseb. Chron. Can.—M. A. Cassiodor. Chron. in Hadrian.—Syncell. Chron. p. 349.

cord precisely with those οἰκήματα, which Pausanias describes in the Stoa of Hadrian, and which were resplendent with alabaster and gilding, and adorned with pictures and statues. The building at the church of the Great Panaghía in the centre answers to the library, so that nothing seems wanting to complete the description of Pausanias, except the columns of Phrygian marble. The remains of those of the interior portico are certainly of Pentelic marble; but there may have been another portico of smaller columns still nearer the wall: it is probable that the columns of Lybian and Phrygian marble introduced into Athens by Hadrian, were more remarkable for the distance from which they had been brought, than for their dimensions; and it is certain that there are many small columns of exotic marble still to be seen in the churches of Athens. I am aware that it has been supposed that the Stoa of Hadrian, his Gymnasium, and his Pantheon, were all enclosed within the same peribolus, and all formed part of the building, of which we now see the ruins at the waywode's house; but the words of Pausanias just cited, seem strongly to indicate, that Athens was adorned with four buildings by Hadrian, besides the Olympium; of these, two were temples, the third a building for study and recreation, and the fourth for gym-

nastic exercises; the first was a temple sacred to Juno and Jupiter Panhellenius; the second was a Pantheon or temple dedicated to all the gods; the third, and most remarkable, was the edifice which contained the library, the porticos of Phrygian marble, and the chambers of statues and pictures; and the fourth was a Gymnasium, surnamed the Gymnasium of Hadrian, to distinguish it from the other Gymnasia within the city, namely, that of Hermes, which was near the Peiraic gate, and that erected by Ptolemy.

Gymnasium of Hadrian.

As the chief ancient buildings of Athens seem almost invariably to have been converted into churches upon the establishment of Christianity, there is the greatest reason to think that the church of Panaghía Gorgópiko, with the adjoining house of the metropolitan bishop, occupy the site of a building of considerable importance, the church being, in great part, constructed of ancient remains. I am inclined to think it was the Gymnasium of Hadrian, many fragments of Roman times being inserted in the walls; and among other inscriptions, a record [1] of the gymnastic victories of one Marcus Tullius Eutyches, which, from its tenor and apparent date, is very likely to have been in the Gymnasium of Hadrian.

[1] Spon has given it (but imperfectly) in his *Voyage, tome* 2. p. 278.

Having finished the description of the Theseium, and the history of Theseus, Pausanias proceeds abruptly to describe the Anaceium, or ancient temple of the Dioscuri [1], without giving any indication that it stood near the Theseium. It must, in fact, have been at a considerable distance from that temple, for it was near the sanctuary of Agraulus [2], the situation of which was certainly under the rocks of the Acropolis. The abruptness and want of connexion in this part of the narrative of Pausanias, may, however, be accounted for. In proceeding from the Theseium to the Anaceium, he had to cross the Macra Stoa, a part of the city already described by him, and concerning which he found it unnecessary to make any further remark. Had he mentioned this fact, the topography would undoubtedly have been much clearer, but the omission is perfectly in the manner of this author, as we have already seen in his silence as to crossing the Ilissus between Enneacrunus and the neighbouring temple in the suburb of Agræ, and in his sudden transition from the temple of Mars to Enneacrunus; and

Agraulium.

[1] It was named Ἀνακεῖον, because Castor and Pollux (the Dioscuri) were commonly called οἱ Ἄνακες by the Athenians.

[2] As Herodotus, Euripides, and most other authors, call the daughter of Cecrops Agraulus, this mode of writing the name seems preferable to the Aglaurus of Pausanias.

the same abruptness is equally remarkable, in many instances, in other parts of Greece.

Before we attempt to fix the position of the Anaceium, it will be necessary to ascertain that of the Agraulium, *below* which the Anaceium stood. Upon comparing together the passages of Herodotus, Pausanias, and Euripides, cited in the note[1], it can hardly be doubted that

[1] Οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἐζόμενοι ἐπι τὸν κατάντιον τῆς ἀκροπόλιος ὄχθον τὸν Ἀθηναῖοι καλέουσι Ἀρήϊον πάγον ἐπολιόρκεον..... .....ὥστε Ξέρξεα ἐπὶ χρόνον σύχνον ἀπαρίησι ἐνέχεσθαι οὐ δυνάμενόν σφέας ἑλεῖν. Χρόνῳ δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἀπόρων ἐφάνη δή τις ἔσοδος τοῖσι βαρβάροισι.....ἔμπροσθε ὧν πρὸ τῆς ἀκροπόλιος ὄπισθε δὲ τῶν πυλέων καὶ τῆς ἀνόδου τῇ δὴ οὔτε τις ἐφύλασσε οὔτ' ἂν ἤλπισε μὴ κοτέ τις κατὰ ταῦτα ἀναβαίη ἀνθρώπων· ταύτῃ ἀνέβησάν τινες κατὰ τὸ ἱρὸν τῆς Κέκροπος θυγατρὸς Ἀγραύλου, καίτοιπερ ἀποκρήμνου ἐόντος τοῦ χώρου. Herodot. l. 8. c. 52.

ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν Διοσκούρων τὸ ἱερὸν Ἀγλαύρου τέμενός ἐστιν.. .....κατὰ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως, ἔνθα ἦν μάλιστα ἀπότομον .....κατὰ τοῦτο ἐπανάβαντες Μῆδοι, &c. Pausan. Attic. c. 18.

Ἐστὶν γὰρ οὐκ ἄσημος Ἑλλήνων πόλις
Τῆς χρυσολόγχου Παλλάδος κεκλιμένη,
Οὗ παῖδ' Ἐρεχθέως Φοῖβος ἔζευξεν γάμοις
Βίᾳ, Κρέουσαν, ἔνθα προσβόρρους πέτρας
Παλλάδος ὑπ' ὄχθῳ τῆς Ἀθηναίων χθονὸς
Μακρὰς καλοῦσι γῆς ἄνακτες Ἀτθίδος.

Euripid. in Ion. v. 8.

Μακρὰς δὲ χωρὸς ἐστ' ἐκεῖ κεκλισμένος. Ion. v. 282.

Ὦ Πανὸς θακήματα καὶ
Παραυλίζουσα πέτρα
Μύχοι δαισὶ μακραῖς
Ἵνα χρέους στείβουσι ποδοῖν

this ancient Athenian sanctuary was in some part of the precipices which are situated to the eastward of the grotto of Apollo and Pan. These precipices were called the Long Rocks, (Μακραὶ Πέτραι), and here it appears to have been that the Persians, under Xerxes, climbed the steepest part of the hill near the temple of Agraulus.

A very different opinion, however, respecting the situation of the Agraulium, has recently been maintained in two publications upon the topography of Athens, wherein it is supposed that the eastern extremity of the Acropolis was the place where the Persians ascended. The principal arguments for this supposition are, 1. That here the rocks of the Acropolis are highest, and most difficult of access (τὸ μάλιστα ἀπότομον). 2. That the words πρὸ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως, "in front of the Acropolis," used by Herodotus, point to the same spot; because, as the Parthenon, and temple of Minerva Polias,

Ἀγραύλου κόραι τρίγονοι
Στάδια χλοερὰ πρὸ Παλλάδος ναῶν, &c. Ion. v. 492.

Κρ. Ἄκουε τοίνυν· οἶσθα Κεκροπίας πέτρας
Πρόσβορρον ἄντρον ἃς Μακρὰς κικλήσκομεν
Πρ. Οἶδ' ἔνθα Πανός ἄδυτα καὶ βωμοὶ πέλας.
Ion. v. 936.

Κρ. Ὁρῶ γὰρ ἄγγος ᾧ ξέθηκ' ἐγώ ποτε
Σὲ γ' ὦ τέκνον μοι, βρέφος ἔτ' ὄντα νήπιον
Κέκροπος ἐς' ἄντρα καὶ Μακρὰς πετρηρεφεῖς.
Ion. v. 1398.

fronted the east, the Acropolis must also have fronted the east. 3. That his words, ὄπισθε τῶν πυλέων, are not to be interpreted simply "behind the gates," but "at the extremity of the Acropolis, opposite to that where the gates are situated," and, consequently (say the favourers of this opinion) are equally decisive of the eastern end of the hill having been intended by Herodotus. Whether such is the import of the historian's words[1], must be submitted to the reader's judgment; to me they appear only to indicate, that, after the Persians had been repulsed in their attack upon the western end of the citadel, where the Propylæa were afterwards built, a party of them made a successful attempt to get into the rear of the Athenians, whose attention was totally occupied by the direct attack; and that they effected this design by climbing up the precipices in a part of the long northern side of the Acropolis; for this side is still very commonly called the front by persons, both natives and strangers, uncon-

[1] In English they are as follows: "After having for a long time endeavoured in vain to take the Acropolis from the Areiopagus, the barbarians at length discovered another mode of entering it, in front of the Acropolis, but behind the gates and principal entrance, where no one watched, or expected that any man would attempt to ascend: here, nevertheless, some of the enemy did climb up near the sanctuary of Agraulus, daughter of Cecrops, though the place was a precipice."

scious of any question upon the subject, and the rocks in this part are not less precipitous and difficult of access, than at the eastern end of the hill[1].

In reply to the supposition of the eastern fronting of the Acropolis, it may be remarked, that this fronting is not confirmed by any ancient authority whatever; nor is it probable; for, although the Parthenon had, in regard to its interior construction, and to the religious ceremonies connected with it, its front to the east, yet the western end was equally a front externally. Of the two temples which formed the Erechtheium, if one opened to the east, the other fronted the north; and that the Athenian custom of having the chief entrance of their temples to the east, had no influence upon the collocation of the other monuments of the Acropolis, seems proved from the description of those monuments by Pausanias. Such a consequence would, indeed, have shackled beyond measure the Athenian artists, and would have been totally repugnant to that neglect or dislike of exact symmetry in the grouping of

[1] It is hardly necessary to observe, that it could not have been in the rear of the Propylæa on the southern side, that the ascent of the Persians was made, because this is precisely the spot where the Acropolis is less defended by precipices than in any other part, except the western entrance.

separate monuments, which distinguished the Greeks[1].

The Agraulium is nowhere described as a temple, but only as a sanctuary or sacred inclosure[2]. At the foot of the Long Rocks, near the centre of the north side of the Acropolis, is a cavern not less full of niches for votive offerings, demonstrative of the fabled residence of some local deity, than the cave of Pan itself. Further eastward, near the foot of the wall of the citadel, is another smaller cavern; and there is every appearance of a passage having formerly led by these caverns into that part of the Acropolis, where there is a sudden descent of eight feet at the temple of Pandrosus. As Pandrosus is said to have been saved, when her sisters Herse and Agraulus, punished with madness for their disobedience to Minerva, threw themselves over the rocks[3], the relative situations of the temples of Pandrosus, and of the two caves, seem to accord with the fable. I believe, therefore, that they mark the situation of the temenus of Agraulus,

[1] This taste was remarkably exemplified in the sacred edifices of Eleusis. The Egyptians were no less sensible of the imposing effect of this ἀσυμμετρία, in the grouping of their buildings.

[2] Herodotus calls it ἱρὸν: Pausanias, ἱερὸν τέμενος: Polyænus, (l. i. c. 21.) ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀγραύλου. The grotto of Apollo and Pan, according to Pausanias, was ἱερὸν ἐν σπηλαίῳ.

[3] Pausan. Attic. c. 18.

the sacred inclosure of which may also have included a considerable space of ground under the Macræ Petræ.

If the situation of the sanctuary of Agraulus was such as I have supposed, the Anaceium or temple of the Dioscuri must have been not far from the gate which now leads into an exterior inclosure of the citadel, forming the modern approach from the town to the Propylæa: for Pausanias describes the Agraulium as being *above* the Anaceium, and that the Anaceium was very near the rocks of the Acropolis is apparent from Lucian[1], in his dialogue called the Fisherman, where he makes that ludicrous representation of the Athenian philosophers of every sect scrambling up to the Acropolis to gain the cake and two minæ, which Parrhesiades offers them by proclamation from the Acropolis. "See them collecting," he cries, "about the Pelasgicum, and others at the temple of Æsculapius: still more around the Areiopagus: some at the tomb of Talos, Anaceium.

[1] Βαβαὶ ὡς πλήρης μὲν ἡ ἄνοδος ὠθιζομένων, ἐπεὶ τὰς δύο μνᾶς ὡς ἤκουσαν μόνον· παρὰ δὲ τὸ Πελασγικὸν ἄλλοι, καὶ κατὰ τὸ Ἀσκληπιεῖον ἕτεροι· καὶ περὶ τὸν Ἄρειον πάγον ἔτι πλείους· ἔνιοι δὲ κατὰ τὸν Τάλω τάφον· οἱ δὲ πρὸς τὸ Ἀνακεῖον προθέμενοι κλίμακας, ἀνέρπουσι βομβηδὸν νὴ Δία καὶ βοτρυδὸν ἐσμοῦ δίκην ἵνα καὶ καθ' Ὅμηρον εἴπω, ἀλλὰ κακεῖθεν εὖ μαλα πολλοὶ καντεῦθεν. Μύριοι, ὅσσα τε φύλλα καὶ ἄνθεα γίνεται ὥρι. Lucian. in Piscator.

and others again like swarms of bees near the Anaceium, where they are planting ladders against the rock."

One of the stratagems of Polyænus[1] is also illustrated by the relative situations of the Anaceium and Agraulium, and serves to confirm the position which I have assigned to them. When Pisistratus had seized the Acropolis, his next object was to disarm the Athenians. For this purpose he summoned an assembly in the Anaceium, descending into which, he addressed the people in so low a tone of voice, that in order to hear him they were obliged to crowd about him. It appears that in so doing they laid aside their arms, and that these were immediately seized by the adherents of Pisistratus and conveyed into the Agraulium. Hence it is evident, that the Agraulium was higher up the hill than the Anaceium, in such a situation as gave Pisistratus a complete command of it from the Acropolis: and such is precisely the situation of the cavern which I have mentioned.

[1] Πεισίστρατος Ἀθηναίων τὰ ὅπλα βουλόμενος παρέλεσθαι παρήγγειλεν ἥκειν ἅπαντας εἰς τὸ Ἀνακεῖον μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων· οἱ μὲν ἦκον· ὁ δὲ προῆλθε δημογορῆσαι βουλόμενος καὶ σμικρᾷ τῇ φωνῇ λέγειν ἤρχετο· οἱ δὲ ἐξακούειν μὴ δυνάμενοι, προελθεῖν αὐτὸν ἠξίωσαν εἰς τὸ προπύλαιον, ἵνα πάντες ἐξακούσειαν· ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ μὲν ἡσυχῇ διελέγετο, οἱ δὲ ἐκτείναντες τὰς ἀκοὰς προσεῖχον, οἱ ἐπίχουροι προελθόντες καὶ τὰ ὅπλα ἀράμενοι κατήνεγκαν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀγραύλου. Polyæn. Strateg. l. 1. c. 21.

Near to the Agraulium was the Prytaneium. Like the Agraulium, it was in a situation above the level of the main body of the city, for Pausanias, proceeding from it to the temple of Sarapis, descends to the lower parts of the city[1]. It was the commencement, also, of a street called Tripodes, which led to the sacred inclosure of Bacchus, near the theatre. These data, as will be further seen hereafter, are not easily reconcileable with any position, except the north-eastern angle of the Acropolis, where, in one of the finest situations in Athens, commanding a view of the sea, as well as of all the northern part of the city and its plain, M. Lusieri, some years ago, built a house below the precipitous part of the hill, but above the city. Here, therefore, I think we may with confidence fix the site of the Prytaneium. Prytaneium.

1 ἐντεῦθεν ἰοῦσιν, ἐς τὰ κάτω τῆς πόλεως Σαράπιδός ἐστιν ἱερὸν, ὃν Ἀθηναῖοι παρὰ Πτολεμαίου θεὸν ἐσηγάγοντο. Pausan. Attic. c. 18.

SECTION VI.

Third Part of the Route of Pausanias. From the Prytaneium to the Stadium.

Sarapium.

Not far below the place where I have supposed the Prytaneium to have stood, is a church of Panaghía Vlastikí, where are still seen the remains of some important building. It was probably the temple of Sarapis, this being the first building mentioned by Pausanias upon descending from the Prytaneium into the lower parts of the city. The ruins at the church of Vlastikí are in a line between the New Agora and the arch of Hadrian: the building therefore to which they belonged, probably stood in a street leading from the Agora to the Olympium and Hadrianopolis, of which the arch of Hadrian formed the termination. It may be supposed that Pausanias, after having descended from the Prytaneium to the Sarapium, followed this street to the Olympium, and that the temple of Lucina, and the place of meeting of Theseus and Pirithous[1], were in or very near it.

Temple of Lucina.

[1] For this meeting of Theseus and Pirithous, see Plutarch (Paral. in Thes.) but Sophocles (Œdip. Colon. v. 1664) seems to place it near the Colonus Hippius.

Of the two latter monuments no vestiges exist, but a little to the right hand of the direction of the street, at an oil-mill, about halfway between the chorägic monument of Lysicrates and the arch of Hadrian, there are three unfluted Ionic columns, two of which are surmounted with an architrave[1]; their construction very much resembles that of the frontispiece of the aqueduct of Hadrian, as designed by Stuart[2]; so that it is very probable that they belonged to one of the temples built by Hadrian; more probably to the temple of Juno and Jupiter Panhellenius, than to the Pantheon, as temples sacred to all the gods were usually of a circular form, of which the ruins at the oil-mill give no indication.

Arch of Hadrian.

After mentioning the temples of Sarapis and Lucina, and the place rendered memorable by the parting of Theseus and Pirithous, Pausanias proceeds to the description of the temple of Jupiter Olympius, in the introduction to which there is a manifest deficiency in his text; a few words making mention of some monument which the traveller met with before he entered the sacred enclosure of Jupiter Olympius, seem to have been lost. This monument was probably the arch of Hadrian, which stands within a few yards of the north-east angle of the peribolus

[1] See Stuart's Antiq. of Ath. vol. 3. p. 61.

[2] See the General View of Athens in Stuart, vol. 1.

of the Olympium, turned in a direction forming an angle of about 35 degrees, with the western wall of the peribolus. Above the north-west side of the arch are the following characters:

ΑΙΔΕΙΣΑΘΗΝΑΙΘΗΣΕΩΣΗΠΡΙΝΠΟΛΙΣ,

And on the opposite side the following:

ΑΙΔΕΙΣΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΥΚΑΙΟΥΧΙΘΗΣΕΩΣΠΟΛΙΣ.

The position and direction in which the arch stands, together with the inscriptions upon it, have been a subject of so much doubt and discussion among travellers, that a few observations upon them seem necessary, the more so as the author of a late dissertation upon the topography of Athens has drawn a new inference from them, namely, that Hadrianopolis was the quarter of Athens, on the north-west side of the arch, and that the Theseian city was on the south-east. This opinion is chiefly founded upon the interpretation of the inscription as given by Chandler, who supposed ΑΙΔΕΙΣΑΘΗΝΑΙ to be ἃ ἴδεις Ἀθῆναι, "the things which you see are Athens," &c. On the other hand, Kavasíla (Cabasilas), a modern Greek, who visited Athens about the middle of the 16th century—Spon and Wheler likewise, and after them Stuart, all construed ΑΙΔΕΙΣΑΘΗΝΑΙ to be a double contraction for αἵδε εἰσὶ Ἀθῆναι: nor was the interpretation doubted by Gruter, Crusius, Meursius, or any of the learned men who had occasion to speak of the

inscription, until Dr. Chandler, without any reason given, suggested the new reading.

It was very customary, among the Greeks, to turn an inscription into verse, whenever it was of a nature to admit of such conversion; and it clearly appears, both from the style and measure of these two lines, that they are senarian iambics. This was clearly understood by Cabasilas[1], as well as by Urbanus, another learned person, who visited Athens about the same time, and it accounts at once for the contractions in the words αἷδ' εἰς'. These words, moreover, are precisely in the form customary on the opposite sides of a boundary, as appears from the column[2], which anciently stood in the isthmus of Corinth, on the Peloponnesian side of which was

Τὰ δ' ἐστὶ Πελοπόννησος, οὐκ Ἰωνία,

and on the other,

Τὰ δ' οὐχὶ Πελοπόννησος ἀλλ' Ἰωνία.

[1] ....ἐξωτέρου, ἐν ᾧ καὶ βασίλεια διὰ μαρμάρων καὶ κιόνων μεγίστων ἐφ' ὧν τῆς πύλης περιγέγραπται μονόστιχον καὶ ἐτὶ σωζόμενον:

Αἷ δ' εἰσ' Ἀθῆναι, Θησέως ἡ πρὶν πόλις.

Simeon Cabasilas ap. Martin. Crus. Turcogræc. p. 461. Crusius, in a note upon this passage, says, "Αἷδ' εἰσ' Ἀθήναι, &c.....hunc versum.....Urbanus, qui Grammaticam Græcam post Gazam scripsit a se Athenis in arcu marmoreo Adriani imperatoris visum scribit, additumque in fronte orientem versus hunc Αἷδ' εἰς' Ἀδριάνου, &c." Urban di Belluno was preceptor of Pope Leo X.; he died in 1524.

[2] Strabo, p. 392.

Chandler's reading of ΑΙΔΕΙΣ, on the contrary, has no support in any customary mode of expression among the Greeks; and the word ἴδεις, if it belong to any Greek dialect at all, is of such rare occurrence, that it ought not to have been found in an inscription, which, as Chandler read it, would not have the plea of poetry for the introduction of an unusual word. Nothing can tend to render the correctness of Chandler's reading more suspicious than that he and Mr. Wilkins should have deduced inferences diametrically opposite from the same words, Chandler having still supposed Hadrianopolis to have been upon the south-east side of the arch, while Mr. Wilkins justly regarding it as absurd, that the words "what you see" should refer to a part of the city, upon which the traveller, on reading them, would turn his back, thought they were meant to direct his view to that part of the city which he beheld *through* the arch; in other words, that Hadrianopolis was on the opposite side of the arch to that upon which its name appears. Such an inscription would be so incompatible with the nature and intention of a boundary, which nobody denies the arch of Hadrian to have been, and so contrary to every principle of reason and custom, that it is impossible to subscribe to it.

One can hardly doubt, therefore, that the inscriptions are to be read in English as follows:—On the north-west side of the arch, "These are Athens, the ancient city of Theseus;" and on the south-east side, "These are (the Athenæ) of Hadrian, and not the city of Theseus;" that is to say, that Hadrianopolis was on the south-east side of the gate, and the Theseian city on the north-west side. And this interpretation is in perfect conformity with every other evidence; for it will not be denied, that the position of the arch and its inscriptions, however the latter may be explained, concur with the existing vestiges of the ancient walls of Athens, in proving that the Emperor Hadrian did not enlarge the bounds of the city, but that he restored or embellished one particular quarter of it; and that the Athenians, from gratitude to their benefactor, bestowed upon that quarter of the city the name of Hadrianopolis [1]. Nothing can be more conformable with history, than that this appellation should have been given to the quarter where stood the temple of Jupiter Olympius; and nothing more improbable than its being given to any portion of

[1] Cum titulos in operibus non amaret, multas civitates Hadrianopolis appellavit et ipsam Carthaginem et Athenarum partem. Spartian. in Hadrian.

the city of which the Olympium did not form a part. For of all the benefits which Hadrian conferred upon the Athenians, the finishing and dedicating of the temple of Jupiter Olympius, a work which had defied the successive efforts both of the Athenians and their foreign benefactors, was that which conferred the greatest glory upon the Roman emperor. For this he assumed the title of Olympius[1]. Here the cities of Greece concentrated their testimonies of admiration by an immense number of statues dedicated in the peribolus of the temple; and here the Athenians exceeded them all by the colossal statue of the emperor, which they erected. One cannot, therefore, on considering these circumstances, as well as the religious feelings connected with the dedication of this temple, imagine that any quarter of Athens from which the Olympium was excluded, could have been complimented with the title of Hadrianopolis. As to the obliquity of the gate towards the temple, which has been remarked by many travellers,

[1] See, in Stuart and Spon, the inscriptions upon some of the bases of the statues which stood in the Olympium. See also several other inscriptions in honour of Hadrian in the collections of Spon, Chandler, and Gruter, in all which he is complimented with the title of Ὀλύμπιος.

as having a disagreeable appearance, it seems to have been unavoidable; and even in picturesque effect, it must have been attended with great advantages, although these advantages are not so immediately apparent in regard to the comparatively poor remains of the temple now existing. To shew that it was unavoidable, it is sufficient to observe, that the general design of the arch, the finished state of its ends, proving that it never was intended to form part of a wall, and the absence of all remains or vestiges of a door, equally demonstrate that it was not a gate but an ornamental arch, terminating the street which led from the new Agora to the temple of Jupiter Olympius, passing probably by the edifice which stood at Panaghía Vlastikí. Since it happened then that the temple did not stand at right angles to the direction of the street, an arch built at the end of the street must stand obliquely to the temple. But, in fact, the obliquity of the arch to the temple was precisely such a deviation from exact symmetry as the ancients preferred. The spectator who entered the peribolus through the arch, found himself opposite to one of the angles of the temple, in the same manner as he who entered the Acropolis through the Propylæa, was placed opposite to the north-west angle of the Par-

thenon. In both cases, the spectator's eye comprehended a complete perspective view of one of the fronts and one of the sides of the building, and, consequently, enjoyed the most imposing prospect of these magnificent edifices that could possibly have been presented to him.

It may be thought, perhaps, that the position which I have assigned to the Stoa of Hadrian in the centre of the Theseian city, is adverse, either to the interpretation of the inscription just adopted, or to the identity of the building at the Waywode's house with that Stoa; either that the building proves a part of Hadrianopolis to have been to the north-west of the gate of Hadrian, or that the inscription proves the ruins at the Waywode's house not to have been one of the edifices of Hadrian. Pausanias, however, as I have already remarked, does not indicate the precise situation of any of the works of Hadrian, except the Olympium; it is not only possible therefore, but very probable, that the other buildings of Hadrian were in different parts of the city. We have indeed a strong presumptive testimony, that they were not all in that quarter, in the inscription which once existed on the arch of the reservoir of the aqueduct begun by Trajan, and terminated by Antoninus Pius. Here the whole city, in re-

ference to the improvements of Hadrian, and in compliment to that emperor, is designated by the term Novæ Athenæ[1]: I say the whole city, for it cannot be doubted, that the aqueduct conveyed water to every part of Athens, and not to the quarter of Hadrianopolis only.

Not far from the Olympium, and advancing, as it would seem from the succeeding part of his narrative, in a direction parallel to the course of the Ilissus, Pausanias describes the sanctuaries of Apollo Pythius, and Apollo Delphinius. Pythium.

Thucydides informs us that the Pythium was in this quarter[2], and his words in another place[3] agree with those of Pausanias and Philostratus in showing that it was an open sanctuary. The Delphinium, on the other hand, was a roofed temple, as appears by the story of Theseus, related by Pausanias in speaking of that temple.

Pausanias next describes the quarter called Κῆποι, or the gardens, and the Gymnasia, named Lyceium and Cynosarges; but he omits to mention, that all these places were beyond the city walls; for it is evident from Pliny[4], that the first Gardens.

[1] See Spon, Voyage, tom. 2. p. 99.

[2] l. 2. c. 15. See page *46, note 1.

[3] Thucyd. (l. 6. c. 54.) speaks of a ἕωμος in the τέμενος of Apollo Pythius. Philostratus (in Gorgia) of a ἕωμος in the ἱερὸν. Pausanias (Attic. c. 19.) of a statue and hierum.

[4] Alcamenem Atheniensem docuit (Phidias) in primis no-

was a suburb, and there is ample proof of the two celebrated Gymnasia having been without the walls, as will presently be seen.

Lyceium. The Lyceium was a sacred inclosure of Apollo Lycius[1], in which was a statue of the god, represented in an attitude of repose, leaning against a column, with a bow in the left hand, and the right resting upon his head[2]. Here the polemarch, or third archon, who had the charge of military affairs, anciently kept his court. Having been embellished with buildings, groves, and fountains, by Pisistratus, Pericles, and Lycurgus, son of Lycophron, it became the common place of assembly for military exercises, as well as the principal Gymnasium for the corporeal exercises, which formed so large a part of the Athenian education[3]. It was also one of the most favourite places of resort for philosophical study and conversation, and thus became

bilem cujus opera Athenienses complura in ædibus sacris posuere præclaramque Veneris imaginem extra muros, quæ appellatur Aphrodite ἐν κήποις. Huic summam manum ipse Phidias posuisse dicitur. Plin. Nat. Hist. l. 36. c. 5.

[1] Pausan. Attic. c. 19.

[2] Lucian. in Gymnas.

[3] Suidas in Ἀρχων.—Hesych. Harpocrat. et Suidas in Λυκεῖον.—Aristoph. Pac. v. 353. et Schol.—Xenoph. Hipparch.—Plutarch de X Rhet. in Lycurg.—Pausan. Attic. c. 29.

the school of Aristotle, whose followers were called Peripatetics, from their custom of walking in the grove of the Lyceium[1].

The position of this celebrated place may be very accurately determined after we have fixed one or two others in the same neighbourhood. It has already been seen that Pausanias describes the temple of Diana Agrotera, otherwise called Agræa, as near the Stadium[2]; its remains were recognised by the earlier travellers at the church dedicated to σταυρωμένος Πέτρος, or the martyrdom of St. Peter, 150 yards north-east of the Stadium[3], where, though little is now left either of the temple or church, the site is still fully evident. Opposite to the quarter of Agræ, on the right bank of the Ilissus, stood, according to Pausanias, the altar of the Muses, which must have been at no great distance from the temple or altar of Boreas mentioned by Herodotus[4] and Plato[5], for the

T. of Diana Agræa.

T. of Muses Ilissiades.

[1] Qui erant cum Aristotele Peripatetici dicti sunt, quia disputabant inambulantes in Lyceo. Cicero, Acad. Quæst. l. 1, c. 4.

[2] Pausan. Attic. c. 19. See page 16.

[3] Spon, Voyage, tome 2. p. 126. Wheler's Travels, p. 378.

[4] ἱρὸν.... Βορέῃ ἱδρύσαντο παρὰ ποταμὸν Ἰλισσόν. Herodot. l. 7. c. 189.

[5] ΦΑΙ. Ὁρᾷς οὖν ἐκείνην τὴν ὑψηλοτάτην πλάτανον; ΣΩ. Τί μήν; ΦΑΙ. Ἐκεῖ σκιά τ' ἐστὶ καὶ πνεῦμα μέτριον καὶ πόα καθίζεσθαι ἢ ἐὰν βουλώμεθα κατακλιθῆναι. ΣΩ. Προάγοις ἄν. ΦΑΙ. Εἰπέ μοι, ὦ Σώκρατες, οὐκ ἐνθένδε μέντοι ποθὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰλισσοῦ

latter states the altar of Boreas to have been over-against the temple of Agræa, and the words of Pausanias[1] tend to shew that the scene of the tale of Boreas and Orethyia, commemorated by the altar of Boreas, was at no great distance from the altar of the Muses.

In 1676, Spon and Wheler observed the remains of a small round temple (which has since disappeared) on the right bank of the Ilissus, between the Stadium and the temple of Agræa; it had once, probably, contained the altar of the Musæ Ilissiades; and the temple of Boreas we may suppose to have been a little higher up, that situation exactly agreeing with the words of Plato, who places the altar of Boreas at the spot where the Ilissus was crossed in going to the temple of Agræa.

Having thus fixed the position of the altar of Boreas, we have the exact situation of the plane tree and fountain alluded to in the passage just cited from the Phædrus of Plato, for they were

λέγεται δ Βορέας τὴν Ὠρείθυιαν ἁρπάσαι..... ΣΩ. Οὐκ, ἀλλὰ κάτωθεν ὅσον δὺ ἢ τρία στάδια ἢ πρὸς τὸ τῆς Ἀγραίας διαβαίνομεν καί που τίς ἐστι βωμὸς αὐτόθι Βορέου..... ἥ τε γὰρ πλάτανος αὕτη μαλὰ ἀμφιλαφής τε καὶ ὑψηλὴ τοῦ τε ἄγνου τὸ ὕψος καὶ τὸ σύσκιον..... ἥγε αὖ πηγὴ χαριεστάτη ὑπὸ τῆς πλατάνου ῥεῖ μάλα ψυχροῦ ὕδατος. Plato in Phædr. vol. 3. p. 230. ed. Serran.

[1] Pausan. Attic. c. 19. See p. 16.

two or three stades higher up the river than the altar. We learn from Strabo[1] that the fountain mentioned by Plato was on the outside of the city-gate Diocharis, and near the Lyceium. Hence it evidently appears to have been the same called the fountain of Panops (from an Attic hero, to whom there was a temple and statue in the same place[2]), for Plato, in his dialogue named Lysis[3], introduces Socrates as arriving (in his way from the Academy, to the Lyceium, along the outside of the city walls) at a gate where was the fountain of Panops, and he represents this fountain to have been near a palæstra lately built, which could have been

Fountain of Panops.

[1] ὁ Ἰλισσὸς..... ῥέων ἐκ τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἄγρας καὶ τοῦ Λυκείου μερῶν καὶ τῆς πηγῆς, ἣν ὕμνηκεν ἐν Φαίδρῳ Πλάτων. Strabo, p. 400.

Εἶσι μὲν οὖν αἱ πηγαὶ καθαροῦ καὶ ποτίμου ὕδατος ὡς φασὶν ἐκτὸς τῶν Διοχάρους καλουμένων πυλῶν, πλησίον τοῦ Λυκείου· πρότερον δὲ καὶ κρήνη κατέσκευαστό τις πλησίον πόλλου καὶ καλοῦ ὕδατος· εἰ δὲ μὴ νῦν τί ἂν εἴη θαυμαστὸν, εἰ πάλαι πολὺ καὶ καθαρὸν ἦν, ὥστε καὶ πότιμον εἶναι, μετέβαλε δὲ ὕστερον; Strabo, p. 397.

[2] Πάνωψ ἥρως Ἀττικὸς· ἐστὶ δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ νέως καὶ ἄγαλμα καὶ κρήνη. Hesych. in Πάνωψ.

[3] Ἐπορευόμην μὲν ἐξ Ἀκαδημίας εὐθὺ Λυκείου τὴν ἔξω τείχους· ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγενόμην κατὰ τὴν πυλίδα ἣ ὑ Πάνοπος κρήνη, ἐνταῦθα συνέτυχον Ἱπποθάλει..... δείξας μοι ἐν τῷ καταντικρὺ τοῦ τείχους περίβολόν τε τινὰ καὶ θύραν ἀνεωγμένην..... (ἐστὶ) παλαίστρα (ἔφη) νεωστὶ ᾠκοδομημένη. Plato in Lys. vol. 2. p. 203.

no other than the palæstra erected in the Lyceium by Lycurgus, son of Lycophron [1].

As it follows from a comparison of the words of Plato with those of the geographer, that the Lyceium was on the banks of the Ilissus, an inference naturally following also from the celebrity of the place for its shady groves and plane trees, its position, from all that precedes, is determined with great accuracy to have been at about 600 yards above the site of the church of Stavroménos Petros on the opposite bank of the river.

As there is no natural spring of water near the spot where the authorities just cited would lead us to look for the fountain of Panops, it is probable that that fountain was supplied by the same artificial conduit which nourished the large plane tree described by Theophrastus [2], and perhaps many others also of the trees of the Lyceium. These groves, as well as those of Cynosarges, suffered greatly from the ravages of Philip, son of Demetrius, king of Macedonia [3],

[1] τὸ ἐν Λυκείῳ γυμνάσιον ἐποίησε καὶ ἐφύτευσε καὶ τὴν πάλαιστραν ᾠκοδόμησε. Plutarch. de X Rhet. in Lycurg.

[2] Πρὸς μακροῤῥιζίαν ἡ τῆς χώρας φύσις..... καθάπερ φρέατος ἢ ὀχετοῦ τινός· ἥ γε οὖν ἐν τῷ Λυκείῳ ἡ πλάτανος ἡ κατὰ τὸν ὀχετὸν ἔτι νέα οὖσα περὶ τρεῖς καὶ τριάκοντα πήχεις ἀφῆκεν. Theophrast. Hist. Plant. l. 1. c. 11.

[3] T. Liv. Hist. l. 31. c. 24.

and the fountain itself, as appears from Strabo, had fallen into neglect in the time of Augustus, so that it is not surprising that no traces of it are now left.

Cynosarges was a place sacred to Hercules[1], where was a gymnasium, surrounded with groves[2], which became the school of Antisthenes[3], founder of the philosophers called Cynics. Its name was derived from the accident of a white dog having carried away part of a victim, when sacrifices were here first offered to Hercules as a god by the Athenian Diomus[4], from whom the neighbouring[5] city-gates received the name of Diomeiæ[6]. We learn from the biographer of the Ten Rhetoricians that Cynosarges was situated near a hill[7], a cir- Cynosarges.

[1] Herodot. l. 5. c. 63, l. 6. c. 116.—Athen. l. 6. c. 6.

[2] Philippus .... castra ad Cynosarges (templum Herculis gymnasiumque et lucus erat circumjectus) posuit. T. Liv. Hist. l. 31. c. 24.

[3] Diogen. Laert. in Antisth.

[4] Pausan. Attic. c. 19. Hesychius, Suidas, et Steph. Byzant. in Κυνόσαργες.

[5] ..... ἐν τῷ Κυνοσάργει τῷ γυμνασίῳ μικρὸν ἄπωθεν τῶν πυλῶν. Diogen. Laert. in Antisth.

.... εἰς Κυνόσαργες (τοῦτο δ ἐστὶν ἔξω πυλῶν γυμνάσιον Ἡρακλέους). Plutarch. in Themistocl.

[6] Steph. ibid. Hesych. in Δημιάσι.

[7] (Ἀντισθένης) ἐτάφη δὲ μετὰ τῆς συγγενείας πλησίον Κυνοσάργους ἐπὶ τοῦ λόφου ἀριστερᾷ. Plutarch. de X Rhet. in Antisth.

cumstance which leads one to believe that it was at the foot of Mount Anchesmus, there being no other hill that could have been near the walls on this side of the town. It is to be presumed also, that it was on the southern side of Anchesmus, for Socrates is represented by Plato as passing along the bank of the Ilissus in his way to Cynosarges from the city, which cannot easily be accounted for upon any other supposition than that Cynosarges was on the side of Anchesmus nearest to Ilissus, and that Socrates came from near the Olympium. It may be thought, perhaps, that no situation except the immediate banks of the river was sufficiently moist for the growth of the forest trees, which formed the groves of Cynosarges; but the present appearance of the gardens and olive grounds near Asómato seems to indicate that there may have been here a sufficient supply of moisture either from natural springs or derivations from the Ilissus. Cynosarges, therefore, probably occupied the ground at the foot of the hill of St. George to the south-west of Asómato.

Cynosarges was the position taken by the Athenian army after the victory of Marathon, when, hearing of the sailing of the Persian fleet from the bay of Marathon to the road of Phalerum, they marched in all haste to the defence

of the city[1]. This fact is not at variance with the position of Cynosarges just indicated, for the high ground of Anchesmus gave the Athenians a view of the road of Phalerum, at the same time that the smallness of their numbers justified them in taking a position in the rear of the city as a protection against sudden attack.

The position of Lyceium and Cynosarges being determined, there seems little doubt that the suburb, called *the gardens*, which the order of Pausanias's narrative places between the Olympium and Lyceium, must have been between the city wall and the Ilissus, nearly opposite to the Stadium; for there is every reason to think, from the appearance of the causeway leading to the bridge of the Stadium, as well as from the general aspect of the ground, that the walls followed the small ridge which beginning at the Olympium and running north-east from thence parallel to the course of the Ilissus, leaves a plain of about two hundred yards in breadth between the walls and the river. It is highly natural that all this space should have been originally occupied by gardens, which may afterwards have given name to the suburb. The Gardens.

Not far above the site of the Lyceium, the Eridanus and Ilissus unite their streams. As the Ilissus seems, from the words of Pausanias, R. Eridanus.

[1] Herodot. l. 6. c. 116.

to have been the more considerable stream of the two, and its name prevailed after the junction, we may conclude that it was the more distant branch which rises at the north end of mount Hymettus, and which, after receiving a few small contributions from the ridges north of Anchesmus, joins the other branch collected from the hollows around Syriáni. Near the source of either torrent are found the remains of the walls of a fortified demus. Adjacent to the left bank of the Ilissus, 700 yards east of the Olympium, the cavity of the Stadium still subsists to illustrate the narrative of Pausanias, and to confirm all the preceding observations on the topography of this region.

SECTION VII.

Fourth part of the route of Pausanias.—From the Prytaneium to the Propylæa of the Acropolis.

Besides the street leading from the Prytaneium to the Olympium, there was another which branched from the same place towards the Lenæum or sacred inclosure of Bacchus, adjacent to the theatre. The street as well as the quarter through which it passed was called Tripodes, from the tripods there dedicated by the leaders of the Chori, victorious in the scenic contests decided in the Dionysiac theatre. Several of these tripods were placed upon certain temples dedicated to Bacchus and to other deities, some of which temples were in the quarter of Tripodes[1], and others within the inclosure of the Lenæum[2]. Other tripods stood upon columns and rocks near the theatre, as the remains of the monuments still indicate, and it may be supposed that there were others similarly disposed in the street of Tripodes.

[1] Pausan. Attic. c. 20.

[2] Plutarch, Paral. in Nicia. Athenæus, l. 2. c. 2. See page 55.

A conjecture has already been offered that Pausanias, instead of applying to the temples in the quarter of Tripodes the epithet of large, according to the words in our copies of his work[1], intended to describe them as small, for it is difficult to conceive how this quarter could have contained several large temples, neither mentioned by any other author, nor more particularly described by Pausanias himself. It is, moreover, extremely improbable that the top of a large temple should have been chosen for the exposition of so small an object as a tripod, and we have a triple proof of what these choragic temples were, and how well the expression *νάοι* or *μεγάλοι* would have suited them: 1. in the words of Plutarch, descriptive of the temple built by Nicias for the support of

[1] The entire passage is as follows. *Ἔστι δὲ ὁδὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ Πρυτανείου καλουμένη Τρίποδες, ἀφ' οὗ δὲ καλοῦσι τὸ χωρίον, νάοι θεῶν ἐς τοῦτο μεγάλοι καὶ σφισιν ἐφεστήκασι τρίποδες, χαλκοῖ μὲν, μνήμης δὲ ἄξια μάλιστα περιέχοντες εἰργασμένα. Σάτυρος γάρ ἐστιν, ἐφ' ᾧ Πραξιτέλης λέγεται φρονῆσαι μέγα,* &c. Instead of *ἐς τοῦτο μεγάλοι*, it is probable that Pausanias wrote *ἐς τοῦτο οὐ μεγάλοι*, which is a very common mode of expression with him in describing a *small* mountain, statue, building, &c. Still, however, it is difficult to understand how the statues were disposed, so as to justify the word *περιέχοντες*, which seems to imply that the statues stood within the tripods. Perhaps there are more defects in this passage than the omission of the word *οὐ*.

his prize tripod[1]: 2. in the adorned cavern which supported the tripod of Thrasyllus, now the church of Panaghía Spiliótissa: and thirdly, in the building vulgarly called the Lantern of Demosthenes, the apex of which proves beyond a doubt, that it once supported a tripod. It may be thought, perhaps, that the circumstance of the Lantern of Demosthenes being a closed building, rough and unfinished within[2], is incompatible with the supposition of its having been a temple, but the only inference which necessarily follows from its closed construction is, that the victorious choragus, who built[3] this

Monument of Lysicrates.

[1] Εἰστήκει δὲ τῶν ἀναθημάτων αὐτοῦ (Νικίου) τότε Παλλάδιον ἐν Ἀκροπόλει ἀποβεβληκός· καὶ ὁ τοῖς χορηγικοῖς τρίποσιν ὑποκείμενος ἐν Διονύσου νεώς· ἐνίκησε γὰρ πολλάκις χορηγήσας· Plutarch in Nicia.

[2] See Stuart's Antiquities of Athens, vol. 1. c. 4.

[3] The inscription upon the architrave, which is of the same tenor as that upon the monument of Thrasyllus, testifies no more than that Lysicrates, son of Lysitheides, led the chorus, when the boys of Acamantis gained the victory, when Theon played the flute, when Lysiades wrote the piece, and when Evænetus was archon. But we learn from Plutarch and other authorities, that the dedication of the tripod was always made at the expense of the choragus, or leader of the chorus (sometimes represented by the whole tribe, or even by the people of Athens); so that there can be little doubt that the monument was built by Lysicrates, and may very properly, therefore, be called by his

μέως ὑποκείμενος τῷ τρίποδι, preferred bestowing all the expense in external decorations, there being scarcely any medium in a building of such a form and of such small dimensions (only six feet in diameter), between closing all the intervals of the columns, or leaving them all open for the display of statuary, as may, perhaps, have been the mode of construction in the neighbouring temple of Bacchus, which con-

name. The orator Lysias (in defens. largit.) informs us, that the expenses of providing a chorus of men, and of consecrating a tripod, were 5000 drachmæ; but those of Lysicrates were probably much greater. The numerous remains of choragic monuments still found at Athens of the fifth and fourth centuries B. C. (see Spon, Chandler, Stuart), shew how well the practice of erecting them was observed in the best periods of Athenian art; every branch of which was so admirably encouraged by this and other similar customs. Most of the choragic inscriptions still existing at Athens are of the latter part of the fourth century, but Chandler found one in a house near the monument of Lysicrates, as ancient as the year of anarchy, B. C. 404; in which a blank was left for the name of the archon, and where the short vowels were used instead of H and Ω, the Ionic alphabet of twenty-four letters not having been adopted until the archonship of Euclid in the succeeding year 403. The same form of inscription is found upon all these monuments, and that of the monument of Thrasyllus, erected B. C. 320, differs not from those upon the choragic dedications of Aristides and Themistocles, about 485 B. C. (See Plutarch, Parall. in Arist. & Themist.)

tained the Satyr, extending a cup, together with statues of Bacchus and Love, by Thymilus[1].

There can be little doubt that the monument of Lysicrates was such a building as came under the description of a νάος, and as the frize which represents in relief the destruction of the Tyrrhenian pirates by Bacchus and his dæmons[2], clearly shews that it was dedicated to the deity, who peculiarly presided over the exhibitions and buildings of this quarter of the city, one can hardly fail to conclude that, like the building just mentioned, which contained the three statues, it was a small temple of Bacchus; and one of the temples of the gods in the quarter of Tripodes, alluded to by Pausanias. The inscription upon the monument of Lysicrates shews that it was raised in the archonship of Evænetus, who held that office when Alexander the Great passed over into Asia[3], or about the

[1] See page 17.

[2] Pausanias (Attic. c. 2.) describes Acratus as a δαίμων των ἀμφὶ Διόνυσον. The destruction of the pirates by Bacchus appears to have been a favourite subject among the painters and sculptors of Athens, like the labours of Hercules and Theseus, the battle of Marathon, and the contest of the Centaurs and Lapithæ. Philostratus (Icon. l. 1. c. 19.) describes a picture, in which the transformation of the pirates was represented.

[3] ..... Εὐαίνετον ἄρχοντα, ἐφ' ου φασιν Ἀλέξανδρον εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν διαβῆναι. Clement. Alexand. Strom. l. 1. c. 21. p. 403. ed. Potter.

year 335 before Christ. It is consequently the oldest known specimen of the Corinthian order, although considerably posterior to the invention of that order, which we know to have been employed in the construction of the temple of Minerva Alea at Tegea, about the year 385 B. C.[1]

Lenæum or T. of Bacchus in Limnis.

We have already seen from Pausanias, that the Lenæum, or sacred inclosure of Bacchus, was contiguous to the theatre: and this fact is fully confirmed by Vitruvius[2], from whom we learn that it served as a place of shelter to the people whenever a sudden fall of rain interrupted the scenic representations of the theatre. The only situation which we can suppose the Lenæum to have occupied, is immediately below the theatre to the south; for, not to mention the extreme improbability of any but the lowest part of the city having ever borne the name of the marshes (Λίμναι), which we have already seen to have been the name of the quarter

[1] Pausan. Arcad. c. 45.

[2] Post scenam porticus sunt constituendæ, uti cum imbres ludos interpellaverint, habeat populus, quo se recipiat extheatro: choragiaque laxamentum habeant ad chorum parandum, uti sunt porticus Pompeianæ itemque Athenis porticus Eumenia, patrisque Liberi fanum et exeuntibus e theatro sinistrâ parte Odeium; quod Athenis Pericles columnis lapideis disposuit naviumque malis et antennis e spoliis Persicis pertexuit. Vitruv. l. 5. c. 9.

where stood the Lenæum[1], there is sufficient evidence to shew that the Lenæum was not on the eastern or on the western side of the theatre: it will presently be seen that the eastern side was occupied by another building, and it is observable, that in proceeding westward from the theatre towards the propylæa of the Acropolis, Pausanias speaks of other monuments without noticing the Lenæum.

Street of Tripodes.

Pausanias does not expressly acquaint us, whether the street of Tripodes conducted to the temple or to the theatre of Bacchus; but it is evident, that, situated as I have supposed the Prytaneium and Lenæum to have been, the former under the north-eastern angle of the Acropolis, and the latter to the south of the Dionysiac theatre, no street leading in a direct line from the one point to the other could have passed by the choragic monument of Lysicrates; and still less could it have passed by that monument, if it led directly from the Prytaneium to the theatre. Either, therefore, the monument of Lysicrates was not in the street, or (what is not at all probable) the street must have formed a considerable curve to the eastward. That the monument of Lysicrates was not in the street, is somewhat countenanced by Pausanias, who makes a marked distinction between the street

[1] See p. 17.

(ὁδὸς), and the quarter (χώριον) of Tripodes, and who places the temples of the gods (of which I have supposed the monument of Lysicrates to have been one) in the *quarter*. I am inclined to believe that the *street* of the tripods passed immediately at the foot of the rocks under the east end of the Acropolis, nearly in the same direction as a path[1] which is now found in that situation. It is not unlikely that the street of the tripods, after reaching the south-eastern angle of the rocks, had one branch leading into the Lenæum, and another into the theatre of Bacchus, for we still find traces of an opening in the north-eastern side of the theatre, which may, perhaps, have conducted the passenger directly from the street of the tripods into that diazoma or corridor of separation between the upper and lower seats of the theatre, which is seen in the ancient coin of Athens, engraved in the title-page of this volume.

It is not improbable that, while the temples supporting tripods were built upon more level ground to the eastward of the street, those tripods which were only elevated upon columns, or placed upon an inscribed basis, occupied the rocks upon the side of the street, in the manner

[1] On the western side of this path are seen some massy ancient foundations, part of a wall perhaps which supported a terrace.

of which we still see remains on the rocks above the theatre.

Odeium of Pericles.

It has just been said, that the ground on the eastern side of the theatre was occupied by *another* building. This building was the Odeium built by Pericles, with a roof formed from the masts and yards of the Persian ships, and rising to a point like the pavilion of Xerxes[1]; for we learn from Vitruvius, that the Odeium of Pericles stood on the left hand of the spectator as he descended from the theatre.[2] As Pausanias places this Odeium near the temple, as well as near the theatre of Bacchus,[3] it may be concluded that it was to the east of the theatre, on a level with the lower part of that building, leaving, perhaps, an opening for one branch of the street of the tripods, between the upper end of the Odeium and the rocks of the south-eastern angle of the Acropolis, and a passage for the other branch between the west side of the Odeium and the theatre. Such a situation of the Odeium is sufficiently near the rocks of the Acropolis to justify the fears entertained by Aristion (during the siege of Athens by Sylla), lest the enemy should make use of the

[1] See page 18.

[2] Exeuntibus e theatro sinistrâ parte Odeium, quod Athenis Pericles, &c. Vitruv. l. 5. c. 9.

[3] Ἔστι δὲ πλησίον τοῦ τε ἱεροῦ τοῦ Διονύσου καὶ τοῦ θεάτρου κατασκεύασμα, &c. Pausan. Attic. c. 20.

timber of that building for assaulting the Acropolis.[1] Neither of the Odeium of Pericles, nor of either of the temples of the Lenæum, have any vestiges yet been discovered; but as there is a strong appearance of the soil being much higher than its ancient level under this end of the citadel, it is possible that an excavation might conduct to the discovery of some remains of these buildings, as well as of the lower part of the Dionysiac theatre.

It may be here proper to remark, that in the middle of the rocks at the eastern end of the Acropolis, there is a large cavern, which, by some, has been taken for the Agraulium, and by others has been called the cave of Creusa, upon the supposition that it was the reputed scene of the amour of Apollo and Creusa, of which Ion was said to have been the offspring. Reasons, however, have already been given for thinking that the Agraulium could not have been situated at the eastern end of the Acropolis, but that it was on the northern side; and it is sufficient to refer to Euripides in the several passages of his Ion, already cited,[2] to be con-

[1] Ὀλίγων δ' ἦν ἀσθενὴς ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν δρόμος· καὶ Ἀριστίων αὐτοῖς συνέφευγεν, ἐμπρήσας τὸ Ὠδεῖον ἵνα μὴ ἑτοίμοις ξύλοις αὐτίκα ὁ Σύλλας ἔχοι τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἐνοχλεῖν. Appian. de Bell. Mithridat. c. 38.

[2] See page 126.

vinced that the cave of Pan was held by the Athenians to have been the scene of the amour of Apollo and Creusa, and the birth-place of Ion—not to mention that we have the express testimony of Pausanias[1] to the same effect. The great cave, therefore, at the eastern end of the Acropolis, is either of recent formation, or was not considered sacred by the ancients, or at least has not been mentioned by any ancient author: and it is remarkable that while the cave of Pan, and that which I suppose to have belonged to the Agraulium, are full of niches for votive offerings, and other marks of ancient sanctity, there is no appearance of any such works in the cavern at the eastern end of the Acropolis, though it is now so much larger and more conspicuous than either of the others.

Porticus Eumenia.

Vitruvius mentions three places as adjacent to the theatre of Bacchus, serving for a refuge against rain, or for the preparations of the chori, one of which, the Odeium of Pericles, having been to the left or east of the theatre, and another, the temple of Bacchus, having been behind the scene, or to the south, it is obvious that the third, or Eumenian portico, must have

[1] ὑπὸ τὰ προπύλαια πηγή τε ὕδατός ἐστι καὶ πλησίον Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερὸν ἐν σπηλαίῳ καὶ Πανός· Κρεούσῃ δὲ θυγατρὶ Ἐρεχθέως Ἀπόλλωνα ἐνταῦθα συγγένεσθαι νομίζουσι. Pausan. Attic. c. 28.

been on the right or westward of the theatre. Stuart, therefore, is probably correct in supposing that the long row of arches which extend from the Dionysiac theatre to the Odeium of Herodes, and which now form part of the modern town-wall of Athens, are some remains of the portico of Eumenes. It may be conjectured, however, that the portico received some repairs or additions from Herodes when he built his theatre, the workmanship of the arches having every appearance of being coeval with that of the Odeium.

It has already been remarked, that Pausanias has made no mention of the Odeium of Herodes, in describing his route, from the theatre of Bacchus to the Propylæa; because the Odeium was not built at the time he wrote his Attica. The principal edifice, therefore, which he encountered in this route was the Asclepieium, or temple of Æsculapius.

Temple of Æsculapius.

This temple was remarkable for containing within its inclosure one of the few sources of water which Athens possessed[1], and it is only by this indication that we can now determine in what part of the road between the Dionysiac theatre and the Propylæa the Asclepieium stood.

[1] Τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ τὸ ἱερὸν..... ἔστι δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ κρήνη. Pausan. Attic. c. 21.

From the remark of Pausanias, that Enneacrunus was the only source of potable water in Athens, it seems evident that the fountain of Æsculapius was one of those springs of water unfit for drinking, but suited to domestic purposes, mentioned by Vitruvius. Although neglect and depopulation may have destroyed the numerous aqueducts of this kind of water anciently existing in Athens, and may even have obliterated some of its springs, we ought still to find its principal sources. These, it is natural to suppose, were on the side, or at the foot, of the Acropolis; for this hill is evidently the principal seat of the saline matter which impregnates those springs, which anciently formed the Θάλασσα Ἐρεχθηΐς, or salt well, sacred to Neptune, in the Erechtheium, and which still communicates a brackish taste to the wells of Athens, more or less strong in proportion to their distance from the citadel. According to Pausanias, there were only two sources of water in Athens, besides Enneacrunus; one below the cave of Pan, the other in the temple of Æsculapius. It has already been seen, that the stream Empedo, or Clepsydra, which rose below the cave of Pan, was reputed to have had a subterraneous course from Athens to Phalerum; and it is remarkable that Pliny relates the same fable of the fountain of Æscula-

pius[1]. The natural inference therefore is, that the fountains of Æsculapius and of Pan were branches of one and the same rivulet of saltish water, called Empedo, or Clepsydra; that the small stream of brackish water, which we now find flowing at the foot of a modern wall (the outer inclosure of the citadel), until it joins the other spring rising near the cave of Pan, has its source in the fountain, which was anciently within the sacred inclosure of Æsculapius, and consequently that the temple occupied a position not far from the spot, where that stream is now seen to rise. Hence it is probable that the temple of Æsculapius stood between the theatre of Herodes and the south-western angle of the modern works, which defend the entrance of the citadel. A part of this ground was formerly occupied by a mosque formed out of the ruins

[1] Subeunt terras rursusque redduntur ..... et quæ in Æsculapii fonte Athenis immersæ sunt, in Phalerico redduntur. Plin. Nat. Hist. l. 2. c. 8.

As the story is destitute of proof, and extremely improbable, (the natural course of the Clepsydra being northward, or exactly in the direction opposite to that of Phalerum), it can hardly be doubted that this was one of those fables which the ancients delighted in repeating, often without believing them. The testimony of Pliny, however, is not on this account the less decisive of the identity of the Clepsydra and fountain of Æsculapius with the two sources now existing.

of a church[1], and as the temples of Athens were generally converted into churches upon the establishment of Christianity, it is not improbable that this church was built upon the Asclepieium. It may here be remarked, that the Asclepieium could not have been under any part of the southern wall of the Acropolis, or further to the south-east than the ridge under the south-western angle of the Propylæa; because that ridge separates the course of all the waters falling upon the south-western part of the Acropolis. It is well known, that among the ancients, waters with mineral impregnations were often held sacred to Æsculapius, which may have been the original cause of the position of the Asclepieium in this spot.

In the year 1676, when Wheler visited Athens, he observed, on a part of the rising ground to the south of the Areiopagus, and west of the Propylæa, which is now occupied by a Turkish cemetery, a fountain of brackish water issuing from a Turkish tchesmeh, in the road which leads into the town, from Lumbardhári, through the pass between the Areiopagus and Acropolis. He mistook it for the fountain Enneacrunus; but there can be little doubt that it was the spring of Æsculapius, diverted from its natural course by pipes, to supply a fountain constructed in the usual Turkish manner, by the road-side. About

[1] Stuart's Antiq. of Athens, Vol. ii. p. v.

eighty years afterwards, when Stuart was the first who examined the topography of Athens, with the care which the subject deserved, he did not find this fountain in the place where Wheler observed it; but in his plan has marked the two springs as we now find them; so that it appears that the Turkish tchesmeh had then fallen into neglect, and that the spring of Æsculapius had reverted to its natural course.

Tomb of Talos.

The site of the temple of Æsculapius being fixed, it will follow that the tomb of Talos[1] stood on some part of the slope of the Acropolis, between that site and the theatre of Bacchus.

And here it may be remarked, in reference to the tomb of Talos and the Asclepieium, that these two sites complete a chain of positions under the rocks of the Acropolis, occupied by some of the most remarkable of the monuments of Athens, in the most central, conspicuous, and most anciently-occupied part of the city, and that the completion of this chain furnishes a strong presumptive evidence of the accuracy of all the sites as indicated in the preceding pages. On the north side, beginning from the west, were the sanctuary of

[1] It appears from Diodorus (l. 4. c. 76.), from Lucian (in Piscator), and from Apollodorus (l. 3. c. 15.), that the name of this celebrated mechanic was Talos, and not Calos, as it is written in our copies of Pausanias.

Pan, the Agraulium, and the Prytaneium: on the east, the street of the Tripods; and on the south, the Odeium of Pericles, the Dionysiac theatre, the tomb of Talos, and the temple of Æsculapius. The positions toward the western end, thus arranged, accord admirably well with the words of Lucian, in the passage of his Fisherman, already cited, where Parrhesiades, preparing to make his proclamation to the philosophers, alters his intention of ascending the Areiopagus, and thinks it better to mount up to the Acropolis,—obviously to its western end, this being nearest to the Areiopagus, as well as to the most frequented parts of the city. From hence he observes the philosophers advancing from the side of the Areiopagus, and climbing up at the Anaceium, Pelasgicum[1], Asclepieium, and tomb of Talos. Here, therefore, it seems to have been the evident intention of the author to enumerate all the places surrounding the western end of the Acropolis.

Temples of Venus, Themis, and Ceres.

It remains to ascertain, if possible, the positions of the sanctuaries of Themis, of Venus, and of Ceres, which, according to Pausanias[2],

[1] The Pelasgicum was below the cave of Pan, as will be seen more fully hereafter.

[2] Μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ ταύτῃ πρὸς πὴν Ἀκρόπολιν ἰοῦσιν Θέμιδος ναός ἐστι· κέχωσται δὲ πρὸ αὐτοῦ μνῆμα Ἱππολύτῳ . . . . . Ἀφροδίτην δὲ τὴν Πάνδημον, ἐπεί τε Ἀθηναίους Θησεὺς ἐς μίαν ἤγαγεν ἀπὸ τῶν δήμων πόλιν, αὐτήν τε σέβεσθαι καὶ Πείθω κατέστησε· τὰ μὲν δὴ παλαιὰ ἀγάλματα οὐκ ἦν ἐπ'

occurred to the traveller, in ascending from the Asclepieium to the Propylæa. It has lately been ascertained that anciently this road was used by carriages[1]. Now it is sufficient for the reader to cast his eye upon any drawing of the western end of the citadel, to perceive that its north and north-west parts, having terminated in a perpendicular precipice, a carriage-road could only have approached the Propylæa by the ridge, which I have already mentioned, as falling from the south-western angle of the Propylæa[2], and as having the Odeium of Herodes at its foot, and above that building the temple of Æsculapius. At or near the temple of Æsculapius, therefore, Pausanias fell into the route which formed the grand approach to the Acropolis from every part of the city.

The western slope of the ridge, now occu-

ἐμοῦ· τὰ δὲ ἐπ' ἐμοῦ τεχνιτῶν ἦν οὐ τῶν ἀφανεστάτων· ἔστι δὲ καὶ Γῆς Κουροτρόφου καὶ Δήμητρος ἱερὸν Χλόης.

Pausan. Attic. c. 22.

[1] A carriage-way through the Propylæa, with marks of wheels, was discovered by Mr. Cockerell and Baron Haller.

[2] The modern approach to the citadel is, in like manner, from the south-west, which shews still more strongly than the ancient practice, the necessity of having the approach in that direction; for the moderns have no carriage-road to provide for, at the same time that the circuitous direction of the route is generally more inconvenient to them than it was to the ancients; because the modern town lies totally on the contrary side of the Acropolis, instead of surrounding it like the ancient.

pied by the Turkish burying-ground, appears to have been the situation where stood, on the ascent to the Acropolis, in a part of the ancient Agora, the statues of Harmodius and Aristogeiton[1]. Higher up, near the foot of the lower battery of the modern works, seems to have been the position of the temple of Venus Pandemus and Peitho, near the utmost bounds of the ancient Agora, eastward; for it appears on the one hand, from Euripides, that this temple of the Popular (ἔκδημος) Venus stood very near the hill of Pallas, or the Acropolis[2]; and, on the

Temple of Venus Pandemus.

[1] See page 101.

[2] Καὶ πρὶν μὲν ἐλθεῖν τήνδε γῆν Τροιζηνίαν
Πέτραν παρ' αὐτὴν Παλλάδος, κατόψιον
Γῆς τῆσδε, ναὸν Κύπριδος ἐγκαθίσατο
Ἔρως ἔρωτ' ἔκδημον· Ἱππολύτῳ δ' ἔπι
Τὸ λοιπὸν ὠνόμαζεν ἱδρύσθαι θεάν.

Euripid. Hippolyt. v. 29.

Schol.—Ἀφροδίτης ἱερὸν ἱδρύσασθαι τὴν Φαίδραν φασί· ἐκάλεσε δὲ Ἀφροδίτην ἐφ' Ἱππολύτῳ, ἣν καὶ Ἱππολυτίαν καλοῦσι.

We are not surprised that Pausanias has not made any mention of Phædra as having been the founder of the temple of Venus Pandemus; as he differs entirely from Euripides in his story of Phædra and Hippolytus. Euripides attributes the founding of the temple, by Phædra, to her having seen and fallen in love with Hippolytus, before she quitted Athens for Træzen. Pausanias, on the other hand, says, that Phædra first saw Hippolytus at Træzen, the scene of his tragic end. The proximity of the tomb of Hippolytus to the sanctuary of Venus and Peitho, as noticed by Pausanias, might

other hand, we have already seen from Apollodorus, that it was in or near the ancient Agora[1]. Thus situated, Pausanias, in his ascent from the Asclepieium to the Propylæa, would have had it not far from his left hand; and the temple of Themis, with the sepulchre of Hippolytus before it, may have occupied a part of the site of the redoubt of six pieces of cannon, which has been added since the time of Stuart, to the south-western angle of the modern works.

Temple of Ceres Chloe and Tellus Curotrophus.

The temple, sacred to Ceres Chloe and Tellus Curotrophus, I am inclined to think, is still in existence. At about forty-five feet in front of the southern wing of the Propylæa, we find a very solid Hellenic wall of Eleusinian stone[2], and of regular masonry, thirty feet long, and forming a right angle with the termination of the Cimonian wall of the Acropolis, so that its direction makes an angle of about 21° with the front of the Propylæa, and lies in a N. N. E. line, or nearly parallel to the ancient road, in its

serve as a confirmation, if any were wanting, of the identity of that sanctuary, with the temple of Venus Hippolyteia, mentioned by the Scholiast of Euripides.

[1] See page 104.

[2] It is a hard grey limestone; I have called it Eleusinian, because it resembles the stone which was used for the frize of the Erechtheium, and which is described in the inscription relating to that building, by the words Ἐλευσινιακὸς λίθος. See Wilkins's Atheniensia, p. 147.

ascent to the Propylæa. The wall is eighteen feet high, and is decorated at the top with a cornice of pentelic marble, which, in 1676, formed the substruction of a small Ionic temple, described by Spon and Wheler, but now entirely destroyed. At the foot of this wall there are two doors, coeval with the wall, and conducting into a small grotto, or excavated chamber. This chamber I take to be the sanctuary of Ceres and Tellus. 1. Because it has every appearance of being, at least, as ancient as the Propylæa, its apparent antiquity thus according with the worship of Tellus Curotrophus, which is said to have been established by Erichthonius[1]. 2. Because the two doors are well appropriated to the two deities[2], who occupied the sanctuary, and to each of whom it is probable there was an altar. Suidas mentions the altar of Tellus Curotrophus, and Eupolis speaks of sacrificing a ram to Ceres Chloe[3]. 3. Because the position of the monu-

[1] Κουροτρόφος Γῆ· ταύτῃ δὲ θῦσαι φασὶ τὸ πρῶτον Ἐριχθόνιον ἐν Ἀκροπόλει· καὶ ξωμὸν ἱδρύσασθαι, χάριν ἀποδίδοντα τῇ Γῇ τῶν τροφείων· καταστῆσαι δὲ νόμιμον τοὺς θύοντάς τινι θεῷ ταύτῃ προθύειν. Suidas in Κουροτρόφος.

[2] Or more properly the same deity under two different characters. See Proclus in Plat. Tim. Comment. 4.—Hesych. in Κουροτρόφος.

[3] Εὐχλόου Δήμητρος ἱερόν ἐστι πρὸς τῇ Ἀκροπόλει· καὶ Εὔπολις Μαρικᾷ, Ἀλλ' εὐθὺ Πόλεως εἶμι ·. θῦσαι γὰρ με δεῖ κριὸν Χλόῃ Δήμητρι. Schol. in Sophoc. Œdip. Colon. v. 1600.

ment, near the right hand of the traveller, on the road from the Asclepieium, not long before he began the direct ascent to the Propylæa, accords exactly with that given to the temple of Ceres and Tellus by Pausanias, according to whom it appears to have been the last object[1] before arriving at the Propylæa. The position is in conformity also with the mention of the sanctuary of Ceres Chloe in the Lysistrata of Aristophanes, where the Athenian women being in possession of the citadel, Lysistrata is represented as suddenly alarmed at the approach of a man, whom, when he has arrived at the sanctuary of Ceres Chloe, Myrrhina, one of the women, distinguishes to be her husband Cinesias[2]. It

[1] The statues in front of the Propylæa may be considered as appendages only to that building.

[2] ΛΥ. Ἰοὺ, ἰοὺ, γυναῖκες . . . . .
Ἀνδρ' ὁρῶ προσιόντα . . . . . .
ΓΥ. Ποῦ δ' ἐστὶν ὅστις ἐστὶ; ΛΥ. Παρὰ τὸ τῆς Χλόης.
Ὦ νὴ Δὶ ἐστὶ δῆτα τις, κἄστιν ποτέ.
Ὁρᾶτε, γινώσκει τὶς ὑμῶν; ΜΥΡ. Νὴ Δία·
Ἔγωγε· κἄστιν οὐμὸς ἀνὴρ Κινησίας.
Aristoph. Lysist. v. 829.

Χλόη—ἡ Δήμητηρ ἐπιθετικῶς. Schol. in v. 835.

Immediately after this scene follows the dialogue between Cinesias and Myrrhina at the gate, where he proposes that she should retire with him to the grotto of Pan, and afterwards wash in the Clepsydra. The steps described in the coins of Athens (see the title-page of this volume) furnished a ready descent from the Propylæa to the grotto of Pan.

is strongly shown also by Suidas, and the scholiast of Sophocles, that the temple must have been on an elevated part of the hill very near the Propylæa; for Suidas speaks of the altar of Tellus Curotrophus as being *in* the Acropolis, and the scholiast of Sophocles places the sanctuary of Ceres Chloe *at* the Acropolis[1]. It may be added, that the words of Eupolis, in alluding to the sanctuary of Ceres Chloe, have the same tendency; for, by the word πόλις, it is probable that he meant the Acropolis.

[1] The propriety of these expressions will be still more evident, if it is admitted, as I shall endeavour to show in the ensuing section, that the ancient fortifications of the western end of the Acropolis reached as low down as the modern outer gate.

SECTION VIII.

Fifth and last Part of the Description of Pausanias.— The Acropolis, Areiopagus, and Academy.

So many of the most interesting evidences of Athenian history were contained within the walls of the Cecropian fortress; and it still possesses so large a portion of the surviving antiquities of Athens, that this division of the city must ever demand a large share of the researches both of the artist and topographer.

In no other part of the city, however, are the inquiries of the latter so much facilitated and abridged by the previous labours of the former. By the diligence of Stuart and Revett, who first gave the public a correct idea of the invaluable specimens of Grecian art, contained in the Athenian Acropolis, together with more recent operations[1] of the same kind, which have added many important additions and amendments to the work of Stuart, we are at length arrived, after a gradual approximation to the truth from the middle of the seventeenth century, at a correct knowledge of those magnificent buildings which

[1] Especially by Mr. C. R. Cockerell, who intends publishing the result of his labours in the form of a supplement to the work of Stuart.

adorned the citadel of Athens; not that many curious discoveries upon the monuments of the Acropolis may not still be made, when its platform shall have been cleared of the wretched dwellings which now cover its soil, and disfigure its appearance; but that in regard to the three great buildings, the Propylæa, Erechtheium and Parthenon, it is probable that very little remains to be done.

The western end of the Acropolis, which furnished the only access to the summit of the hill, was 168 feet in breadth—an opening so narrow, that it appeared practicable to the artists of Pericles to fill up the space with a single building, which, in serving the main purpose of a gateway, should contribute at once to fortify and to adorn the citadel. This work, the greatest production of civil architecture in Athens[1], which equalled the Parthenon in felicity of execution, and surpassed it in boldness and originality of design, was begun in the archonship of Euthy- Propylæa.

[1] Περικλεῖ μεν Προπύλαια πρὸς φιλοτιμίαν ἦρκει καὶ Παρθενῶν. Philost. Vit. Apoll. Tyan. l. 2. c. 5.

Demosthenes, in his oration against Androtion, gives a similar indication of the Propylæa having been considered upon a parity with the Parthenon, as an effort of architectural art—οἱ τὰ Προπύλαια, καὶ τὸν Παρθενῶνα οἰκοδομήσαντες ἐκεῖνοι καὶ τἄλλα πάντα ἀπὸ των ϐαρϐάρων ἱερὰ κοσμήσαντες, &c. P. 597, ed. Reiske.

menes[1], in the year before Christ 437. It cost a very large sum of money[2], and was built under the directions of the architect Mnesicles, who completed it in five years[3].

Of the hundred and sixty-eight feet which formed the natural entrance of the Acropolis, fifty-eight were left near[4] the centre, for the great artificial entrance, the remainder being closed by two wings, which projected thirty-two feet in front of the grand colonnade of the

[1] Περὶ δὲ τῶν Προπυλαίων τῆς Ἀκροπόλεως ὡς ἐπὶ Εὐθυμένους ἄρχοντος οἰκοδομεῖν ἤρξαντο Ἀθηναῖοι, Μνησικλέους ἀρχιτεκτονοῦντος, ἄλλοι τε ἱστορήκασι καὶ Φιλόχορος ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ. Ἡλιόδωρος δ' ἐν πρώτῳ περὶ Ἀθήνησιν ἀκροπόλεως, μεθ' ἕτερα καὶ ταῦτά φησιν· ἐν ἔτεσι μὲν πέντε παντελῶς ἐξεποιήθη, τάλαντα δὲ ἀνελώθη δισχίλια δώδεκα, πέντε δὲ πύλας ἐποίησαν, δι' ὧν εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν εἰσίασιν. Harpocrat. in Προπύλαια ταῦτα.

[2] It has been seen in the preceding note, that Heliodorus states the expense of the Propylæa to have been two thousand and twelve talents; but this is incredible; for it appears, from Thucydides, that the expense of all the works of Pericles, among which, according to Plutarch, we must include his Odeium, the mystic temple at Eleusis, the Parthenon, and one of the Long Walls, as well as the Propylæa, did not amount to three thousand talents. See some further remarks upon this subject at the end of the volume.

[3] Plutarch. Paral. in Pericl. —Heliod. ap. Harpocrat. supra.

[4] It has lately been ascertained, from an accurate admeasurement, that the distance from *a* to *b* (see the plan of the Propylæa) was a few feet shorter than the wall *ed*: the Propylæum, or grand vestibule, therefore, was not exactly in the centre.

entrance. The entire building, like others of the same kind, received the name of Propylæa, from its forming a vestibule to the five gates, or doors[1], by which the citadel was entered. The wall in which these doors were pierced was thrown back about fifty feet from the front of the artificial opening of the hill, which was itself thrown back a few feet behind the natural entrance. The whole work may be said to resemble the front of a modern fortification; the great vestibule, or Propylæum, properly so called, resembling the curtain, and each of the wings presenting a face and flank, like two adjoining bastions.

There can be little doubt, indeed, that the Propylæa was a work of defence, no less than of decoration; the difference between it and the front of a modern fortification being such only as naturally arises from the difference of weapons, and of the art of war in the two ages, and from the admirable taste with which the Athenians combined utility with ornament.

This magnificent building was constructed entirely of Pentelic marble. The Propylæum, or great vestibule, in the centre, consisted of a front of six fluted Doric columns, mounted upon four steps, which supported a pediment: the columns

[1] Heliod. ap. Harpocrat. supra. The five doors are still in existence.

are five feet in diameter, near twenty-nine feet in height, and have an intercolumniation of seven feet, except between the two central columns, where is a space of thirteen feet, for the sake of the carriage-way, the traces of which, with the wheel-ruts worn in the rock, are still in existence. Behind the Doric colonnade was a vestibule, forty-three feet in depth, the roof of which was sustained by six Ionic columns, standing in a double row, and thus dividing the vestibule into three aisles. These columns, although only three feet and a half in diameter at the base, were, including the capital, nearly thirty-four feet high, their architraves being on the same level with the frize of the Doric colonnade[1]. The ceiling was laid upon marble beams, which rested upon the lateral walls, and upon the architraves of the two rows of Ionic columns: consequently there were three lengths of these beams in the whole breadth of the Propylæum. The beams covering the side aisles were twenty-two feet long,

[1] Spon, though he had such a transient view of this building, and did not even discover that it was the Propylæa, has accurately described the Ionic colonnade. "Il est d'ordre Dorique par dehors, mais les colonnes qui le soutiennent par dedans sont Ioniques, parcequ' étant plus hautes de toute l'épaisseur de l'architrave pour en soutenir le lambris, la proportion de l'ordre Ionique, qui fait la colonne plus haute que le Dorique lui convenoit mieux."—Tome 2, p. 81.

and those of the centre aisle seventeen feet, with a proportional breadth and thickness. Such enormous masses, raised to the roof of a building standing upon the summit of a steep hill, and covered with a ceiling most elegantly adorned and painted, might well excite the admiration with which Pausanias (although in his usual sober manner) speaks of the roof of the Propylæa[1]. Of the five doors at the extremity of the vestibule, the opening of the central and largest was equal to the space between the two central columns of the Doric portico in front, which was the same as the space between the two rows of Ionic columns in the vestibule: the doors on either side of the central door were of a diminished height and breadth, and the two

[1] Τὰ δὲ Προπύλαια λίθου λευκοῦ τὴν ὀροφὴν ἔχει καὶ κόσμῳ καὶ μεγέθει τῶν λίθων μεχρὶ γε ἐμοῦ προεῖχε. Attic. c. 22.

The best idea of the elegance and magnificence of the great vestibule of the Propylæa will be formed from an inspection of the plates of the Propylæum of Eleusis, in the Unedited Antiquities of Attica: for it appears that this building was almost an exact counterpart of the Athenian Propylæum, both in design and dimensions. Revett (in Stuart's Antiquities of Athens, vol. 2. c. 5. pl. 4.) has disfigured the beautiful Ionic columns, by placing them upon a high square base. Their bases, having been cleared by Mr. Cockerell, were found precisely to resemble those of the Propylæum of Eleusis. The capitals, therefore, may safely be supplied from the same building. Spon had already remarked that they were of the Ionic order.

beyond these still smaller in both dimensions. These doors led from the vestibule into a back portico, eighteen feet in depth: it was fronted with a Doric colonnade and pediment of the same dimensions as those of the western portico, but which stood upon a higher level, there being five steps to ascend from the level of the western portico and vestibule to the doors and the eastern portico. From the eastern portico there was a descent of one step into the adjacent part of the platform of the Acropolis.

The wings of the Propylæa were nearly[1] symmetrical in front, each presenting on this side a wall, adorned only with a frize of triglyphs, and with antæ at the extremities. The extreme simplicity of the wings in this direction was characteristic of the work of defence, of which they formed so important a part, and the purposes of which regulated their construction. The flanks also of these bastions (to pursue the comparison of a modern fortification) were uniform in their external appearance, each of them presenting a Doric front of three columns in antis of three feet in diameter, supporting pediments, the summits of which were on a level with the frize of the great Propylæum. The inner or southermost column of each wing

[1] It has already been remarked, that they differed a few feet in length.

stood in a line with the great Doric columns of the Propylæum; and as both these columns and those of the wings were upon the same level, the three porticos were all connected together, and the four steps which ascended to the Propylæum were continued also along the porticos of the two wings. Here the symmetry of the building ended; for, in regard to interior size and distribution, the wings were very dissimilar. In the northern wing a porch of twelve feet in depth conducted by three doors into a chamber of thirty-four feet by twenty-six, the porch and chamber thus occupying the entire space lying behind the western wall of that wing. The southern wing consisted only of a porch or open gallery of twenty-six feet by sixteen, which on the east and south sides was formed by a wall, connected, and of the same thickness, with the lateral wall of the Propylæum, and which on the west side had its roof supported by a narrow pilaster, standing between the north-west column of the wing and an anta, which terminated its southern wall. Thus the wall which appeared in front of this wing, and which preserved the exterior symmetry of the building, formed only a screen to the open gallery, between which and the screen there was a passage[1], of four or five feet in breadth, leading,

[1] Mr. Cockerell has furnished me with a new argument, that this passage was a back way into the citadel, by his

as I conceive, into the citadel by a postern gate. That it did not conduct into any chamber at the back of the open gallery has been proved by an accurate examination of the south-east angle of that gallery, the outside of which is of finished masonry, and has no appearance of having been connected with any other wall. On the other hand, that it led to a postern gate is strongly argued, from the consideration that the military defences of the Propylæa would have been incomplete without such a postern; for we must not lose sight of the fact, that the Propylæa was chiefly designed to defend the entrance of the Acropolis. In fact, the more we examine the buildings at the western end of the hill, with a reference to the principles of fortification, arising from the arms and mode of warfare of the Greeks, the more evidently will it appear that all the works at this end of the Acropolis had military defence for their principal object.

The circumstance which principally regulated the Greeks in protecting the approach to their fortified places, was the undefended state of the Greek soldier on the right side of his body. While an ample shield covered the left

discovery that the *porch* was parted off from the *passage* by a metal railing, connecting the columns of the two open sides of the porch.

of the Hoplita, all his right side was exposed to the missiles of the enemy. It may be inferred from the description by Thucydides[1] of the battle between the Lacedæmonians and Argives at Mantineia, that this effect of the arms of the Greeks was one of the chief regulators of the movements of their troops in the field of battle; but it was still more important as a leading principle in their mode of defending the approaches to the gates and vulnerable points of their fortresses, as Vitruvius[2] has instructed his readers, and as we find exemplified in a great variety of Greek ruins still existing in Greece, Italy, and Sicily. It often taught the Grecian engineers how to occupy their ground, and must in many cases have determined the general form of their fortifications; but it still more frequently regulated the construction of the gates, and the direction in which they were to be approached. Many existing remains of gates furnish proofs of this fact; and in several places there are still seen traces in the rocks of the ancient paths leading to the gates, where it

[1] Thucyd. l. 5. c. 71.

[2] Curandumque maxime videtur, ut non facilis sit aditus ad oppugnandum murum, sed ita circumdandum ad loca præcipitia et excogitandum, uti portarum itinera non sint directa sed scæva: namque cum ita factum fuerit, tunc dextrum latus accedentibus, quod scuto non erit tectum, proximum erit muro. Vitruv. l. 1, c. 5.

is very evident that the direction of the path was contrived with a view to oblige the enemy in his approach to expose his right side to the ramparts.

As it follows, from the foregoing principle, that the left of the front of a Greek fortification was more easily defended against the approach of an enemy than the right, it is obvious that the western end of the Cecropian hill, the only approach to which was by the ridge falling to the south-west, must by Grecian tacticians have been considered as greatly favoured by nature. Its right, which would otherwise have been the weaker end, is defended by steep rocks, while the ridge, which slopes from the left, by obliging the enemy to approach in that direction, facilitated the formation of outworks, which would have the effect of forcing the assailant to mount the steep ascent under the continual disadvantage of the exposure of his right side to the enemy.

In order to render this remark more intelligible, it is necessary to refer the reader to the plan: a few previous observations, however, seem necessary.

In the first place, it can scarcely be doubted that the present road, from the outer gate as far as the front of the Propylæa, follows precisely the same track as the ancient carriage-

way. Such indeed is the nature of the ground, that a carriage-road could not easily have been formed in any other direction; and if the steepness of the ground renders such a circuitous route necessary for the present horse-path, it must have been still more so to the carriages of the ancients, who, it should be remembered, were not so much incommoded as the moderns, by the detour from the northern part of the city, as they had an access to the Propylæa for foot passengers by the steps cut in the rock, traces of which are still seen near the northern wing of the Propylæa[1].

If the ancient and modern roads coincided, it is also probable that the ancient gate of the

[1] It has already been remarked, that these steps have been recorded on the ancient coin of Athens, which represents the north side of the Acropolis. (See the title page of this volume). It appears from a plan of the Acropolis, taken after the siege of 1687, by Verneda, the engineer of Morosini, that the steps were still in use at that time, as well as the gate to which they mounted. The gate conducted into an outer court of the citadel, from which there was an ascent by another flight of steps behind the pedestal of Agrippa into the northern wing of the Propylæa. This approach to the citadel has since been closed; but its former existence, under the Turks, furnishes a strong argument, that when the Turks fortified the citadel of Athens, soon after obtaining possession of it, they preserved the ancient approaches, and did little more than raise their walls, and erect their batteries upon the ancient outworks or platforms.

outworks stood nearly in the same spot as the modern outer gate A, and that the inscribed stone, belonging to an ancient gate[1], which now forms the architrave of the modern gate, is nearly in its original situation.

It may be observed, upon a reference to the plan, that the gate A was completely commanded from the wall B C of the Acropolis, and that the assailant, in moving from A to C, had his right continually exposed to troops stationed upon the platform supported by that wall. Having turned the angle C, he had his right again exposed to the part of the platform above the temple of Ceres and Terra, in which state he continued to advance as far as E; for it is not to be supposed that the Athenians failed to take advantage of the steep ascent in that part, by forming a terrace from D to E, for the purpose of commanding the road beneath. When the assailant had succeeded in turning this terrace, by a passage between the end of it and the pedestal F, he made a bend to the right, and approached the entrance of the Propylæa. When he had thus taken the outwork B E in reverse, the besieged must have been under the necessity of retiring into

[1] It records the gift of a pair of gates to the Acropolis by F. S. Marcellinus. See page 102.

the Propylæa. In approaching the entrance G, the besieger was exposed in front from the Propylæum, and on either side from the wings I, K; but his right was still the most in danger; because the besieged in the southern wing had the power of retreat, and of reinforcement, through the postern, which I suppose to have been placed at or near the modern gate L. This situation was so well secured and covered by the construction of the southern wing, that the postern still afforded the means of endangering the rear of the assailants, even when they were in possession of the great vestibule itself. And thus it seems evident that a postern at the back of the southern wing was essential to the military defences of the Propylæa, and that the inequality of the two wings is not to be ascribed to any difficulties arising from the nature of the ground; but that while the decoration of the Cecropian hill was the object of the artists of Pericles in the architectural embellishments of the Propylæa and in many of its details, its plan was part of a well-imagined system of defence, the general design of which was, perhaps, much more ancient than the time of Pericles.

Among the modern buildings which encumber and disfigure the ruins of the Propylæa, the high tower standing upon the southern wing

High Tower.

appears to be of a different construction from the rest. Its erection in this spot may have been suggested by the convenient form, size, and position of the southern wing for such a building; and it is not impossible that the pediment and roof of that wing may have been removed upon the occasion. I am disposed to think that this high tower is not more recent than the time of the Frank princes of Athens, and that it was built for the purpose of communicating by signal with the Peiræeus, and along the coasts on one side, and through Attica, Bœotia, and Phocis on the other; for we find a chain of similar towers in both directions, and the practice seems in the middle ages to have been common to all the countries bordering upon the Mediterranean. Among the Turks, on the contrary, there is no evidence of such a custom having ever been in use; neither their footing in Greece, their manners, nor their religious principles, encouraging any such extensive or vigilant system of defence.

The other modern constructions of the Propylæa are evidently Turkish, and were probably added soon after the Turks obtained possession of Athens, in 1455, when the recent invention of artillery, and the power and vicinity of the Venetians, rendered a better defence to the citadel necessary than was afforded

by the ancient form of the Propylæa. An apartment was then raised upon the top of the northern wing, and the Propylæum or great vestibule was formed into a magazine of powder and military stores[1], by closing four of the doors at the eastern end, and by walling up the Doric columns of the western front. This magazine having been struck by lightning about the year 1636, all the upper part of the eastern side of the Propylæa was thrown down by the explosion; but the western part of the building seems to have suffered little damage; for, in 1656, when Spon and Wheler visited Athens, the pediment of the western front, which has now disappeared, together with all the entablature, was still in its place. It was even standing after the siege of 1687, if we may trust to the drawings[2] of the engineer, Verneda, made after the capture of Athens by Morosini.

It has already been remarked, that in front Temple of Victory.

[1] A part of these military stores consisted of a great quantity of the kind of armour which was in use before the invention of gunpowder; for Spon and Wheler relate, that after the explosion, shields and bows and arrows were found dispersed over the surrounding country. The use to which the Propylæa had long been put seems to have suggested the name of the arsenal of Lycurgus, son of Lycophron, by which it was known among the Athenian pretenders to learning in the seventeenth century.

[2] See Fanelli, Atene Attiche.

of the southern wing of the Propylæa there stood, in the year 1656, a small Ionic temple. The brief descriptions of Spon and Wheler are the only memorials which we now possess of this interesting monument, with the exception of a few of its fragments still to be seen upon the spot, and of four marbles with figures in relief forming part of its frize, which are now in the British Museum. The following are the words of Spon: "Ce temple est d'ordre Ionique[1], avec de petites colonnes canelées et la frise chargée d'un bas relief de petites figures d'assez bonne main, dont il y a une assise et neuf ou dix debout devant et derrière. Il n'a qu'environ 15 pieds de large et il sert maintenant aux Turcs de magasin à poudre." Wheler adds, that it was "built of white marble, with one end near the wall;" and that it was "not above fifteen feet long, and about eight or nine feet broad." This temple seems either to have been destroyed in the siege of 1687, when the Venetians particularly directed their batteries against the entrance of the citadel[2], or it may

[1] Wheler says they were of the Doric order; but Stuart, who found the fragments of the temple exactly in the spot described by his predecessor, justly remarks, that Wheler was mistaken, and that Spon was right in calling it an Ionic temple.

[2] Fanelli, Atene Attiche, p. 308.

have been removed by the Turks, in order to make room for the modern work which now occupies its site, and which appears to have been added about the time of the siege, as Spon and Wheler found the small temple standing in a place now occupied by a part of the work. In the year 1751, nothing remained of the temple but the fragments already mentioned, together with the frize described by Spon and Wheler; Stuart then found the latter built into a neighbouring Turkish wall, from whence, about the year 1804, it was removed by the Earl of Elgin.

The front of the Propylæa having been already closed by a modern wall when Spon and Wheler arrived at Athens, it was very natural for them, in such a hasty[1] visit to the Acropolis as they made, to think, after having traversed three gates of the modern citadel, that they had passed the Propylæa, and were within the ancient Acropolis, when in reality they were proceeding by a road nearly coinciding with that of the present day, in a direction parallel to the front of the Propylæa. Here observing a small tem-

[1] They went only once to the Acropolis, when they hastened past the Propylæa to see the Parthenon. "Nous nous hâtames d'aller voir la grande mosquée, qui étoit autrefois le temple de Minerve, comme la plus considérable piéce de la citadelle." Spon, tome 2. p. 28.

ple on their right, they thought that its position agreed exactly with the words of Pausanias[1], and concluded that it was the temple of Νίκη Ἄπτερος, or Victory without wings[2]. I am disposed, though certainly not for the same reasons which guided them, to think they were right in their conclusions: but as this is one of the points of Athenian topography, upon which there is the greatest variety of opinions, it is necessary to examine it more fully.

In stating that the temple of Victory was on the right of the Propylæa, and the οἴκημα ἔχον γραφάς, or chamber containing pictures of Polygnotus and other artists on the left, few persons will doubt that Pausanias meant the right and left hand of the traveller[3], in his progress

[1] Τῶν δὲ Προπυλαίων ἐν δεξιᾷ Νίκης ἐστὶν Ἀπτέρου ναός· ..... ἔστι δὲ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τῶν Προπυλαίων οἴκημα ἔχον γραφάς. Pausan. Attic. c. 22.

[2] Spon supposed that the Propylæum, or great gateway, had entirely disappeared, and that the buildings to the right and left of it only remained; that the temple on his right was the temple of Victory, and that the great building on his left was the οἴκημα ἔχον γραφάς, or temple (as he interpreted the word οἴκημα), containing pictures. Wheler, with better judgment, thought that a large building with two wings could not be a temple or a picture-chamber, and suspected the truth, that it was the Propylæa itself.

[3] In the description of Thebes by Pausanias, the case is precisely similar. Entering the city by the gate of Platæa,

from the lower part of the city into the Acropolis; for although passages may be found in this author where his meaning in the use of the words *right* and *left* is ambiguous, it can never be so where it is his evident intention to de-

he says, ἔστι δὲ λόφος ἐν δεξιᾷ τῶν πυλῶν ἱερὸς Ἀπόλλωνος· καλεῖται δὲ ὁ λόφος καὶ ὁ θεὸς Ἰσμήνιος, παραῤῥέοντος τοῦ ποταμοῦ ταύτῃ τοῦ Ἰσμηνίου. Here we are sure, from the undoubted positions of Platæa and the river Ismenus, that the latter must have been on the right of the road entering Thebes from Platæa. In like manner, going from Thebes to Chalcis, he says, Τευμησσοῦ δὲ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ σταδίους προελθοντι ἑπτὰ, Γλίσαντός ἐστιν ἐρείπια; and having arrived at the Euripus, τῆς Δήμητρος τὸ ἱερὸν ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς Μυκαλησσίας καὶ ὀλίγον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ προελθοντι ἐστὶν Αὐλίς; and τῆς Βοιωτίας τὰ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τοῦ Εὐρίπου Μεσσάπιον ὄρος καλούμενον καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῶν Βοιωτῶν ἐπὶ θαλάσσης πόλις ἐστὶν Ἀνθηδών. Here again the known situations of the places leave not a doubt that the words *right* and *left* were applied to the right and left hand of the traveller as he entered Chalcis from Thebes. I may here take occasion to remark, that upon similar occasions, so frequently occurring in Pausanias, he generally uses the words, ἰόντι, ἰόντων, ἰοῦσι, ἐλθόντων, or their compounds with ἐπὶ, ἀνὰ, ἐπανὰ, πρὸ, πρὸς; to which is added, ἐστὶν ἐν δεξιᾷ, or ἐν ἀριστερᾷ, either with or without the words, τῆς ὁδοῦ, or τῆς λεωφόρου; but often the participle is left out, and he proceeds with the name only of the place or monument added to ἐν δεξιᾷ, or ἐν ἀριστερᾷ. I recollect only two instances where these words seem to have relation, not to the right and left of the traveller's route, but to the *fronting* of the place which Pausanias is describing: the one is at the temple of Despæna, near Megalopolis, the other at Phigalia (Arcad. c. 38, 41.); but in the former instance the thread of

scribe a succession of objects on any particular line, as undoubtedly occurs in his account of the Propylæa and the adjacent monuments. Presuming, therefore, that the northern wing was one of the two buildings mentioned by Pausanias, which, as it occupies all the space between the great vestibule and the northern wall of the Acropolis, it evidently must have been, it follows, from the interpretation of his words, *right* and *left*, just given, that the northern wing was the picture chamber[1]; and I find it impossible, therefore, to subscribe to the opposite opinion of Chandler, who, interpreting ἐν δεξιᾷ τῶν Προπυλαίων to have reference to the western fronting of the Propylæa, supposed the right or northern wing to be the temple of Victory. The word οἴκημα, it may be added, would not be very well applied to such an open gallery or portico, as we know the southern wing to have been; nor would such a portico, in which there

his route had been interrupted by a long description of the temple; in the latter, he had arrived at the end of his route, had occupied near three chapters with the description of Phigalia, and proceeds immediately afterwards to describe Pallantium, on the opposite side of Arcadia.

[1] It is probable that the centre of the roof of this chamber was hypæthral, or open to the sky, a mode of construction not uncommon both in Greek and Roman buildings. The door and two windows in the portico would not have admitted a sufficiency of light for the pictures.

were only forty-two feet of wall, have easily received the numerous pictures described by Pausanias, in addition to those which were too much obliterated by time to be decyphered by him. On the other hand, the northern wing being a closed building, although not a temple, would be well described by the word οἴκημα, and, as it forms an integral part of the Propylæa, it agrees with the words of an ancient author, who speaks of the pictures as being *in* the Propylæa[1].

But if the open portico forming the southern wing was little adapted to have been the pinacotheca, or picture-chamber, still less was it suited to the temple of Victory. Pausanias, in reference to the story of Ægeus, who threw himself over the rock, upon perceiving the ship of his son Theseus returning with black sails, particularly states, that the site of the temple of Victory commanded a view of the sea[2]; whereas the southern wing of the Propylæa turned its back upon the sea, if such an expression may be allowed, being open only on the north side, and being closed by a wall, not only on the eastern and southern sides, but

[1] . . . . . ὡς Πολέμων φησὶν ἐν τῷ περὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς Προπυλαίοις πινάκων. Harpocrat. in Λάμπας.

[2] Τῶν δὲ Προπυλαίων ἐν δεξιᾷ Νίκης ἐστὶν ἀπτέρου ναός· ἐντεῦθεν ἡ θαλασσα ἐσῆι σύνοπτος· καὶ ταύτῃ ρίψας Αἰγεὺς ἑαυτὸν, ὡς λέγουσιν, ἐτελεύτησεν. Pausan. Attic. c. 22.

screened even on the western by the wall which stood in front.

To those who suppose the northern wing to have been the temple of Victory, the same objection occurs, and perhaps still more strongly, that wing being farther removed from the side of the Acropolis, to which a person looking out for a vessel coming from Crete would naturally repair. No part of the Propylæa, in fact, except the front of the great vestibule, commanded a view of the sea, which, even from thence, was visible only towards Salamis and Corinth, but not at all in the direction in which Ægeus may be supposed to have watched for the ship. Even upon a first view of the question, indeed, it seems very improbable that Victory Apterus, a goddess whose worship was connected with the earliest history of Athens, should have been lodged in any part of a building, which was not of very early date, and the several parts of which were combined to form an entire work, designed for purposes of military defence and decoration. Of whatever date may have been the temple of Victory, seen by Pausanias, there can be little doubt that (like many other temples existing in his time[1], ruins or fragments of some of which remain to this day) it

[1] Thus the Olympium of Athens, finished by Hadrian, stood on the site of a temple begun originally by Pisistratus; the Erechtheium was raised upon the foundations of the old building, which covered the olive-tree and salt-well; the Parthe-

occupied the identical spot where tradition reported Ægeus to have looked out for his son's return, and where an earlier temple or altar was erected to Victory without Wings. The situation where Spon and Wheler found the small Ionic temple is precisely the spot best suited to such an action; for it commands a view of all the parts of the Saronic gulf, visible from the Acropolis, including Scyllæum of Trœzenia, together with the islands of the Ægean sea beyond that cape.

After the battle of Marathon, when victory so often attended the Athenian arms, and when the republic rose with rapidity to glory and dominion, it is natural that, without forgetting the ancient fact or fable which had given rise to the worship of the wingless goddess, a new mythological meaning should be attached to that worship. Victory was then fabled to have been fixed by Minerva to her favourite spot, the Acropolis, by being deprived of her wings[1]. Her statue was sometimes identified with Minerva her-

non, on the earlier Hecatompedum; and the Panhellenium of Ægina, on the site of the temple or altar dedicated by Æacus.

[1] .....πέδας ἐστὶν ἔχων Ἐνυάλιος, ἄγαλμα ἀρχαῖον· γνώμη δὲ ἡ αὐτὴ Λακεδαιμονίων τε ἐς τοῦτό ἐστιν ἄγαλμα, καὶ Ἀθηναίων ἐς τὴν Ἄπτερον καλουμένην Νίκην, τῶν μὲν οὔποτε τὸν Ἐνυάλιον φεύγοντα οἰχήσεσθαι σφισιν ἐνεχόμενον ταῖς πέδαις, Ἀθηναίων δὲ τὴν Νίκην αὐτόθι ἀεὶ μένειν, οὐκ ὄντων πτερῶν. Pausan. Lacon. c. 15.

self, and hence called Νίκη Ἀθήνη[1]; as well as Νίκη Ἄπτερος; and it was represented with a pomegranate, the type of abundance, in the right hand, and a helmet, symbolical of military virtue, in the left[2].

Nothing seems more probable than that the exterior of the temple of such a deity should have been adorned with such a frize as that which Spon and Wheler observed on the small Ionic temple in their time, and which is now to be seen in the British Museum. It consists of four pieces of Pentelic marble, one foot seven inches in height, and four inches and a

[1] Λυκοῦργος ἐν τῷ περὶ τῆς Ἱερείας, ὅτι Νίκης Ἀθηνᾶς ξόανον ἄπτερον ἔχον ἐν μὲν τῇ δεξιᾷ ῥοιὰν ἐν δὲ τῇ εὐωνύμῳ κράνος ἐτιμᾶτο· ὅτι δὲ ἐτιμᾶτο πάρ Ἀθηναίοις δεδήλωκεν Ἡλιόδωρος ὁ περιηγητὴς ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ περὶ Ἀκροπόλεως.

Harpocrat. et Suid. in Νίκη Ἀθήνη.

It may here be observed, that Νίκη Ἀθήνη is not to be confounded with Ἀθήνη Νικηφόρος, which was the epithet of Minerva, bearing a winged Victory in her hand, as represented by Phidias.

[2] Although the statue alluded to by Harpocration may not have been of the earliest times, there can be little doubt that its attributes were the same as those of the original statue. It appears from Pausanias (Eliac. Prior. c. 26.) that there was an imitation of the Athenian Νίκη Ἄπτερος at Olympia, made for the Messenians by Calamis, an Athenian artist who lived in the fifth century B. C. We learn from the same passage in Pausanias, that the statue at Athens was a ξόανον, or wooden statue, which agrees with the account of Lycurgus, as stated by Harpocration in the preceding note.

half in thickness, covered with figures in high relief, in the finest style of Athenian art. Upon two of them, each six feet one inch in length, is sculptured, in a continued design, a battle between Greeks and Persians, the latter of whom are distinguished by crescent-shaped shields and long loose dresses. The other two marbles, each of which is six feet eight inches and a half in length, represent a battle of Greeks against Greeks.

It can hardly be doubted that these sculptures were intended to record two of the most celebrated victories gained by the Athenians over their enemies. If we suppose, as their workmanship indicates, that the temple was erected between the Persian and Peloponnesian wars[1], in that half-century of prosperity and overflowing wealth, when the Athenians applied so large a portion of their own revenues, of the plunder of the treasury of Delos, and of the sums collected from their tributaries, to the establishment of new buildings, or to the renewal of those burnt by the Persians[2], among which last we can hardly suppose that a temple of Victory would not have been included, it will almost necessarily follow, that the action between Greeks and Persians represents the battle of Marathon, and that between Greeks

[1] Between the years 479 and 431 B. C.

[2] Thucyd. l. 2, c. 13. Plutarch. Paral. in Pericl.

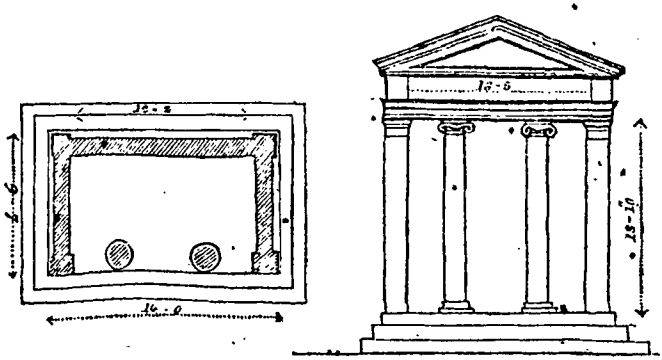
and Greeks, the victory gained over the Bœotians and Chalcidenses of Eubœa. For if the former was the *barbarian* triumph, of which the Athenians were most proud, their glory upon that occasion having been unshared with any of the other great states of Greece, the latter must have been no less their pride, as being the most important victory which they had gained over any *Grecian* state previous to the Peloponnesian war. In one day they defeated the Bœotians, and, passing over into Eubœa, gained such a decisive victory over the Chalcidenses, that it was followed by a division of the lands of the great proprietors of Eubœa among a colony of four thousand Athenians[1], and thus it laid the foundation of that dependence of the island upon Athens, which continued during the whole course of Athenian prosperity, and which was, in fact, a leading cause of that prosperity. The tenth of the spoils of the days of Marathon and Chalcis were destined to two magnificent dedications in the citadel[2]; and there is every reason to think, that the little Ionic temple was built at the exact period when these two victories were the most recent and the most glorious of which the Athenians had to boast.

It is difficult, from the short and imperfect description of Spon and Wheler, to ascertain in

[1] Herodot. l. 5. c. 77. Plutarch. Paral. in Pericl.

[2] Herodot. ibid.—Pausan. Attic. c. 28. See p. 28.

what part of the platform of the outwork before the southern wing of the Propylæa, the temple of Victory stood, or in what direction it faced; but a tolerably correct idea of its construction may be formed from its existing fragments, compared with the length and breadth of the building, as preserved for us by Spon and Wheler. Mr. Cockerell, who accurately designed and measured the fragments which remain upon the spot, consisting of parts of the columns, antæ, architrave, and ceiling, finds that they accord exactly with the pieces of the frize in the British Museum, and with the dimension of fifteen *French* feet by eight or nine, ascribed to the temple by Spon and Wheler, upon the supposition that the entire temple consisted of two columns in antis, without any cell[1].



[1] In order to convert such a temple into a powder magazine, as the travellers found it, its front must have been walled up.

That such, indeed, was its construction, may be strongly argued from Spon, who says that there was a frize of small figures in *front* of the temple, and another *behind*. Now, as the length of one pair of marbles in the British Museum is twelve feet two inches, and that of the other thirteen feet five inches, it is evident that they could not have occupied the short dimensions of the temple; consequently one of the long dimensions must have been the front intended by Spon, and the other the back. As to the difference between the length of the temple (fifteen feet) and the length of either pair of marbles, it was evidently occupied by the stones at the angles of the frize[1], which were probably unadorned with figures, as the frize at each end of the temple also appears, from the words of Spon and Wheler, to have been.

It may be objected, perhaps, to the preceding opinions upon the situation of the temple of Victory, and of the Pinacotheca, that if the words of Pausanias prove the latter to have been the northern wing of the Propylæa, we must, inconsistency, infer from the same authority, that the southern wing was the temple of Vic-

[1] This is confirmed by an examination of the four marbles in the British Museum, none of which could have been at any of the angles of the building.

tory; and that otherwise Pausanias omits all mention of that wing. Whether such an objection counterbalances the arguments which have been stated for a contrary opinion, can only be left to the reader's judgment; for it must be confessed that no other reply to them can easily be found than the remark, that the style of Pausanias is often ambiguous, and deficient in perspicuity; that he affects a brevity not at all favourable to topographical accuracy; that he is generally satisfied with a vague indication of positions, which is the cause of much obscurity to us, though it may not have been so when the objects were in existence, and familiar to his readers; and that he may easily be supposed to have passed over the southern wing of the Propylæa unnoticed, if, as is most probable, it was merely used as a place of arms, or of shelter, for the use of the persons entrusted with the custody of the gates[1].

[1] Chandler is singularly unfortunate in his remarks upon the Propylæa, having misapprehended his predecessors, Spon and Wheler, in almost every particular. Intending to follow their information, he observes, that the northern wing (which he supposes to have been the temple of Victory) was blown up about the year 1656; Spon and Wheler, however, in mentioning this explosion, were not speaking of the northern wing, but of the Propylæum or great vestibule

Pedestal of Agrippa.

On the steepest part of the ascent towards the Propylæa, in a line with the upper Turkish battery, we find, advanced seventeen feet before the south-western angle of the northern wing of the Propylæa, and near forty feet from the great Doric colonnade, a lofty pedestal, fifteen feet square, and twenty-seven high; its summit being of such a height, that the top of a statue, twelve feet in height, would be on a level with the capitals of the great columns. The con-

itself. The small Ionic temple, not the southern wing of the Propylæa, as Chandler imagined, then became the magazine, in which state Spon and Wheler found it in 1676. Again, Chandler conceived that the columns of the small Ionic temple and its frize, representing the battle of the Greeks and Persians (he calls them Amazons, and takes no notice of the battle of Greeks against Greeks), belonged to the southern wing of the Propylæa, which is in direct contradiction to Spon and Wheler, who clearly describe both the frize and columns as belonging to the small detached temple, which was on their right hand in entering the citadel. Chandler then remarks, that the pediment of the northern wing was standing in 1676; whereas Spon and Wheler only say, that the pediment of the Propylæum itself was then standing. Lastly, instead of trusting to his own eyes, he copies Wheler's mistake, of supposing the front of the Propylæum to have consisted of four Doric columns instead of six, and its roof to have been supported by four Ionic columns instead of six: and he adds a new error of his own, namely, that the columns of the pronaos of the northern wing were Ionic instead of Doric.

struction and form of this pedestal prove it to have been of Roman times; an inscription under the cornice shows that it formerly supported a statue in honour of Marcus Agrippa, as a benefactor of the people of Athens[1]; and its height and dimensions are such as were suited only to a statue which was colossal or equestrian. It is further remarkable, that the pedestal did not stand parallel to the front of the Propylæa, but that it had its south-western angle thrown a little back, undoubtedly for the purpose of more advantageously exhibiting to those who ascended the hill, the statue which stood upon it. This circumstance, combined with that of the position of the pedestal, in front of one of the wings of the Propylæa, and with the remark of Pausanias, regarding the *ornamental* effect of *two* equestrian statues, which he mentions as standing at or near the same edifice[2], leads directly to the inference that there was another pedestal similarly placed before the southern wing, and that the statues which stood upon these two pedestals were the two equestrian statues of which he speaks. As the inscription upon the existing pedestal shows Agrippa to have been in his third consulship, it may reasonably be conjectured, that the southern

[1] τὸν ἑαυτοῦ (scil. τοῦ Δήμου) εὐεργέτην, and not τ. Καίου ε. as Chandler read it.

[2] τὰς μὲν οὖν εἰκόνας τῶν ἱππέων οὐκ ἔχω σαφῶς εἰπεῖν, εἴτε οἱ παῖδές εἰσιν οἱ Ξενοφῶντος εἴτε ἐς εὐπρέπειαν πεποιημένας. At. c. 22.

pedestal supported a statue of Caius Cæsar Octavianus, who was the colleague of Agrippa in his third consulship, and who had arrived in that year at such a height of power, that he was made consul for the seventh time, and was dignified with the title of Augustus.

The remarkable expression of Pausanias, that he was doubtful whether these statues were intended for the sons of Xenophon, or merely for ornament, when their intention must have been so notorious, from the recency of their history, as well as from the inscriptions upon their pedestals, was probably a consequence of that fear of giving offence, which in several instances has caused him to use obscure language, when examples occurred of Roman barbarism, or Grecian baseness[1]. Thus he avoids

[1] Dion Chrysostom, in his Rhodiac oration, exposes, in a forcible and even ludicrous manner, the custom common among the Rhodians, of altering the names of the statues with which that city abounded, and he gives some instances of the same practice among the Athenians. At Athens it had existed long before the time of Chrysostom; there the colossal statues of Attalus and Eumenes had been inscribed to M. Antonius (Plutarch, Paral. in M. Ant.); and Cicero alludes to it as a common custom, in a letter to his friend Atticus, wherein he expresses his wish of having a statue erected to him by the Athenians. Equidem valde ipsas Athenas amo: volo esse aliquod monimentum: odi falsas inscriptiones statuarum alienarum. (L. 6. ep. 1.) We can hardly doubt that this contemptible practice originated among the Athenians, whose meanness and base flat-

acquainting us to whom it was that an inscription had been placed upon the statue of Neptune, near the Peiraic gate, and conceals the names of the persons to whom the statues of Miltiades and Themistocles in the Prytaneium had been newly dedicated. The statues of the sons of Xenophon may, in like manner, have been placed upon two new pedestals, constructed for the purpose, and thus converted into statues of Augustus and Agrippa. In the Propylæum of the New Agora (which was erected out of the donations of Augustus, which was adorned with a statue of Julia, and surmounted by another of Lucius, son of Agrippa, and grandson of Augustus), we have already seen other instances, although posterior in date, of the beneficence of Augustus towards the Athenians, and of their gratitude or flattery towards his family.

Parthenon.

The Parthenon, or great temple of Minerva, stood upon the highest platform of the Acropolis, which was so far elevated above its western entrance, that the pavement of the peristyle of the Parthenon was upon the same level as the capitals of the columns of the eastern portico of the Propylæa.

The Parthenon was constructed entirely of

tery was not less followed by the rest of Greece, than their example in learning, art, and every elegant invention had been in better times.

white marble, from Mount Pentelicum. It consisted of a cell, surrounded with a peristyle, which had eight Doric columns in the fronts, and seventeen in the sides. These forty-six columns were six feet two inches in diameter at the base, and thirty-four feet in height, standing upon a pavement, to which there was an ascent of three steps. The total height of the temple above its platform was about sixty-five feet. Within the peristyle, at either end, there was an interior range of six columns, of five feet and a half in diameter, standing before the end of the cell, and forming a vestibule to its door: there was an ascent of two steps into these vestibules from the peristyle. The cell, which was sixty-two feet and a half broad within, was divided into two unequal chambers, of which the western was forty-three feet ten inches long, and the eastern ninety-eight feet seven inches. The ceiling of the former was supported by four columns, of about four feet in diameter, and that of the latter by sixteen columns, of about three feet[1]. It is not known of what order were the interior

[1] The number of the columns in either chamber has been recently ascertained by Mr. Cockerell, by means of the construction of the pavement, and by the trace of one of the columns in either chamber. Their diameters have been inferred from the same traces.

columns of either chamber. Those of the western having been thirty-six feet in height, their proportion must have been nearly the same as that of the Ionic columns of the vestibule of the Propylæa; whence it seems highly probable that the same order was used in the interior of both these cotemporary buildings. In the eastern chamber of the Parthenon the smallness of the diameter of the columns leaves little doubt that there was an upper range, as in the temples of Pæstum and Ægina. It is to be lamented that no remains of any of them have been found, as they might have presented some new proofs of the taste and invention of the architects of the time of Pericles[1].

Such was the simple construction of this magnificent building, which, by its united excellencies of materials[2], design, and decora-

[1] In the interior of the temple at Phigalia are two new varieties of the Ionic order, one of which, by its helices and leaves of acanthus, must be considered as belonging to the order afterwards called Corinthian. It proves, therefore, that the Corinthian order dates from the age of Pericles. Vitruvius gives the honour of its invention to Callimachus, who lived about that time, and who made the golden lamp and brazen palm-tree in the temple of Minerva Polias.

[2] The beautiful marble with which nature furnished the Athenians, was one of the great concurring causes leading to their unrivalled pre-eminence in architecture and decorative sculpture. Admitting as fine a surface, and presenting as beautiful a colour, as ivory, with a still sharper edge, it

tions, was the most perfect ever executed. Its dimensions of two hundred and twenty-eight feet by a hundred and two, with a height of sixty-six feet to the top of the pediment, were sufficiently great to give an impression of grandeur and sublimity, which was not disturbed by any obtrusive subdivision of parts, such as is found to diminish the effects of some larger modern buildings, where the same singleness of design is not observed. In the Parthenon, whether viewed at a small or at a great distance, there was nothing to divert the spectator's contemplation, from the simplicity and majesty of mass and outline, which forms the first and most remarkable object of admiration in a Greek temple; and it was not until the eye was satiated with the contemplation of the entire edifice, that the spectator was tempted to examine the decorations with which this building was so profusely adorned; for the statues of the pediments, the only decoration which was very conspicuous by its magnitude and position, being inclosed within frames, which formed an essential part of the design of either front, had no more obtrusive effect than an ornamented capital to a single column.

was admirably calculated to encourage the successive efforts of artists studying to excel their predecessors in the effects produced.

As it was one of the objects of the great statesman, under whose directing genius the Parthenon rose, to furnish employment in every branch of art to those excellent artists with whom Athens then abounded, it was admirably contrived that the temple should be of a design the best adapted to decorations of sculpture, and that it should be adorned with every species most esteemed among the Greeks. Within the cell was an example of chryselephantinè sculpture, having but one rival in Greece, and that by the same master; under the colonnade, and in other parts of the temple, stood statues of bronze; in the aeti, or pediments, were two compositions near eighty feet in length, each consisting of about twenty entire statues of superhuman size; under the exterior cornice, in harmony with the projecting features of that part of the building, were ninety-two groups, raised in high relief, from tablets four feet three inches square; and, lastly, along the outside of the cella and vestibules reigned a frize of three feet four inches in height, and five hundred and twenty feet in length, to which a relief, slightly raised above the surface of the naked wall, which it crowned, was most applicable.

That which chiefly excites our wonder in these beautiful works is, that their execution is

such as in almost every part to admit of the minutest inspection, although the nearest of them were not seen at a smaller distance than forty feet. We cannot have a stronger proof that considerations of economy entered very little into the calculations of Pericles, and that the Athenian artists aimed at nothing short of perfection in their productions, and at glory for their highest reward. Having formed the conception of a finished and perfect work, Phidias and his scholars could not be contented with any thing short of its execution. Satisfied with its being for a short time submitted to the near inspection of the public, they thought it could receive no higher honour than that of contributing to adorn the temple of the protecting goddess, of being consigned to her care, and of becoming the object of a small share of the veneration paid to her. They felt assured that, although the generality of spectators might view it at too great a distance to appreciate all its merits, those whose superior taste and knowledge rendered their admiration the chief object of the artist's ambition, would always find the means of obtaining a nearer view; for it cannot be doubted that facilities were given to artists, and to curious natives and strangers, to mount to the summit of the temple for the purpose of obtaining a

close inspection of the pediments, metopes, and frize[1].

The frize which crowned the exterior of the cell and its two vestibules, represented the procession to the Parthenon on the grand quinquennial festival of the Panathenæa. Although this subject has been treated by Phidias in a manner which in many respects is ideal and poetical, there can be little doubt that, as well in general design as in detail, the composition is correctly descriptive of the procession which actually took place. No part of the work is now attached to the temple, except that which is above the western vestibule; but from the drawings of Carrey, taken before the explosion which ruined the building, added to the designs of Stuart, and to the originals which have been saved from the ruins, and which are now in the British Museum, we derive (although some parts are undoubtedly still wanting) a tolerably correct idea of the entire work. The procession is represented as advancing in two parallel columns Frize.

[1] In the temple of Jupiter at Olympia, which closely resembled the Parthenon, both in design and dimensions, there was a winding ascent to the roof (ἄνοδος ἐπὶ τὸν ὄροφον σκολιά, Pausan. Eliac. Prior. c. 10.) which appears, from the context, to have been in the great chamber. Here the situation, best adapted for concealment, was behind the statue. It is not improbable, therefore, that there was a similar winding stair behind the statue in the Parthenon.

from west to east, one along the northern and the other along the southern side of the temple; as facing inwards, after turning the two angles of the eastern front, and as meeting towards the centre of that front. Hence it is evident that all the figures of the southern frize must be represented as moving to the spectator's right, and those of the northern side to the spectator's left, and that in the eastern frize those towards the south end face to the spectator's right, and those towards the north end to the spectator's left.

Near the centre of the eastern frize there are twelve deities, known to be such from their superior stature, and from their being seated upon chairs. Six of these deities face to the south, opposite to the head of the southern column of the procession: the other six face to the north, and are consequently opposed to the head of the northern column. The former six are separated from the latter by five standing figures, which occupy the centre of the eastern frize, and which are consequently the central figures of the whole composition. They consist[1] of the two arrhephori delivering the bas-

[1] The reader will not fail to remark, that the explanation of the frize which follows has in great part been adopted from Visconti. In some instances I have ventured to differ from him. Even with the sanction of his name, however, these remarks must only be regarded as opinions, several of

kets of unknown contents[1] to the priestess of Minerva, next to whom the second archon, or βασιλεὺς, or king of the divine rites, receives the peplus, or sacred veil, from the hands of a young man[2].

There is considerable difficulty in ascertaining the intention of the Athenian artist as to several of the twelve seated figures. It arises from two circumstances, which apply both to these and to several other figures, as well in the frize as in the metopes and pediments. First, the symbols and attributes which indicated the different deities among the later Greeks and Romans, appear from the sculptures of the Parthenon to have not been much in use in the Periclean age. To a people so learned in their religion as the Athenians, each deity was sufficiently described by the general expression of his countenance, form, and attitude, whereas to us, who are ignorant of the greater part of the Attic mythology and superstitions, such indications are not always sufficient, especially as the heads of many of the figures, according to the

which may very possibly be controverted when the marbles have been more thoroughly examined.

[1] See Pausan. Attic. c. 27.

[2] No. 18 of the British Museum contains these five central figures, together with Jupiter, Juno, and Hebe, to the spectator's left, and Hygieia and Æsculapius to the spectator's right.

usual practice of the Turks, have been purposely defaced, or their features obliterated. Secondly, many of the attributes and minute details of the figures were expressed by metallic ornaments, of which we see vestiges in numerous round holes visible in many parts of the marbles, and in the remains of bronze fastenings existing in some of those holes. These metallic appendages were, of course, the first things to suffer by the effects of time and spoliation.

As seven of the deities of the frize are male, and five of them female, it is evident that they did not represent the twelve gods, commonly so called, of whom there were six of either sex. If (as some reasons will hereafter be given for supposing) one of the pediments represented the gods of Greece, according to the earliest state of Grecian mythology, and the other the assembly of Olympus at a later period, it is not improbable that Phidias, either in conformity with the ceremonies of the Panathenaic festival, or for the sake of varying the subject, may upon the frize have retained only such of the Olympian deities as were more peculiarly the objects of Athenian worship, and that, in place of the others he may have preferred some of the Attic gods, whose temples indicate the veneration in which they were held at Athens, thus introducing Æsculapius, Theseus, Erech-

theus, Agraulus, and Pandrosus, in place of some of the twelve gods of Olympus.

Following this supposition, and thinking it very probable that Minerva, the chief deity of the temple, may have been omitted in this subordinate part of the work, I am inclined to believe that the six deities facing to the south or to the spectator's left were, 1. Jupiter; 2. Juno, raising her veil, and having her daughter Hebe standing beside her[1]; 3. Mars in repose, the end of his spear appearing at his heel[2]; 4. Ceres

[1] Instead of Juno and Hebe, Visconti has named these figures Minerva and the winged Victory. But the veil is the usual attribute of Juno, seldom or never of Minerva; which circumstance, together with the situation of the goddess by the side of Jupiter, seems to leave little doubt of its being Juno. Among other examples of the association of Hebe with Juno may be mentioned that of the Heræum, near Mycenæ, the most celebrated temple of Juno in Greece. Here Pausanias (Corinth. c. 17.) describes a statue of Hebe as standing by the sitting statue of Juno. Visconti seems to have been misled by mistaking the veil of Hebe, which she holds up with her left arm, for a wing: whence supposing that a winged figure could be no other than Victory, he concluded that the sitting figure near it must be Minerva. If there was a wing, what was the left arm doing? it cannot be supposed that the arm was either resting upon the wing or supporting it.

[2] Visconti supposed this to be Triptolemus, though he has recognised the exact posture of the figure in a Mars of the Villa Ludovisi: the remains of the spear he seems not to have observed.—Memoire, p. 54.

holding a torch; 5. Triptolemus, whose intimacy with Ceres is indicated by the position of the two figures; and, 6. Mercury bearing the petasus in his hand[1]: the posture of the fingers, and a hole between the finger and thumb, seem strongly to shew that formerly there was also a caduceus of bronze in Mercury's hand.

Of the six deities who face to the north, or to the spectator's right, two only are in the British Museum; these Visconti supposes, with great appearance of truth, to be Hygieia conversing with Æsculapius, who rests upon his staff[2]. Of the other four it is difficult to judge,

[1] The fifth and sixth figures were supposed by Visconti to be the Dioscuri; but independently of the petasus of Mercury, which Visconti could hardly have failed to remark, (though he does not mention it,) the two figures are obviously of different ages, which would not have been the case with the twin brothers. Enough of the head of the fifth figure remains to distinguish that it was bearded, and the body is broader and more muscular than that of the sixth. It may be asked, perhaps, why that appearance of familiarity between Triptolemus and Mercury, indicated by the former leaning upon the shoulders of the latter? If we were better acquainted with the Eleusinian mysteries we might perhaps be able to answer that question. Pausanias, speaking of Triptolemus, (Attic. c. 14.) suddenly leaves us in the dark, by telling us that he had been warned by a dream to say no more upon the subject.

[2] I am rather at a loss to discover the snake of Hygieia, which Visconti adduces as a proof. There is indeed some-

as we possess only the designs of them by Carrey. I am unable therefore to substitute any more plausible conjecture to that of Visconti, who supposed that they represent Neptune, his son Theseus, Agraulus, and Pandrosus, and that the boy standing by the last is the young Erechtheus.

Before the six deities facing to the south stand six magistrates, who appear to be conversing with one another, and one of whom is leaning upon a staff[1]. The procession is opened by young women, some of whom bear instruments shaped like trumpets, others vases[2]; and the five last appear, from Carrey's drawings, to have borne large circular pateræ. The procession of young women continues to the south-east angle, with the exception of the last figure, which is a magistrate[3] looking round on the part of the procession which follows him. He is interposed between the end of the procession

thing upon her left arm that may be taken for it: it must, however, have been not such a serpent as usually accompanies Hygieia, but little better than a worm.

[1] No. 17 of the Elgin collection contains Mars, Ceres, Triptolemus, Mercury, and four of the magistrates: the other four magistrates are in No. 16.

[2] No. 16, 15, of the Elgin collection.

[3] A single figure at the end of No. 62, on the other face of which stone are the victims.

of females and the beginning of that of the sacrificial oxen, which opens at the eastern extremity of the southern side of the temple. Some of these victims are proceeding quietly, others are struggling against the utmost efforts of the men on foot, in long loose dresses, who accompany them[1]. Next to these, as it appears from the drawings of Carrey, were four women bearing square instruments[2]; and then a crowd of men of various ages, who are followed by cars. Of the eight cars designed by Carrey, fragments of four are in the Elgin collection[3]; they are drawn by four horses; in the two best preserved the car is mounted by two men, of whom the one on the right holds the reins, while that on the left bears a shield. Men on foot walk by the sides of the horses; a young warrior with a shield walks on the right-hand side of one of the cars. The cars were followed by horsemen[4], who extended, as it appears from the drawings of Carrey, as far as the south-western angle, where the last horseman is accompanied by a man on

[1] No. 62, 61, 60, 59, 58, 57, of the Elgin collection.

[2] Supposed by Visconti to be the δίφροι, or folding chairs, carried by the women of the μέτοικοι, or sojourners, for the wives of the Athenian citizens.

[3] No. 56, 55, 54, 53.

[4] Of this part of the procession there are about seventy feet in the Elgin collection, from No. 40 to No. 52 inclusive.

foot. With the exception of a few, who are covered with a cuirass sitting close to the body, all the horsemen are more or less clothed with a loose drapery; some of them have a close helmet; but the greater part are bareheaded. In Carrey's drawings several are represented with the broad-brimmed, low-crowned hat, called the Arcadian pilus[1]; but none of these are in the Elgin collection.

Before the six deities[2] facing to the north stand six magistrates, as on the other side: four of them are leaning upon staffs. A seventh magistrate faces, and appears to give directions to the two leading figures of a procession of young women, between whom and the next two females is an eighth magistrate, facing and apparently employed like the seventh. A fifth woman walks singly, and has a vase in her hand[3]; the seventh has a candelabrum; then follow two singly with vases, and two singly

[1] Visconti calls it the Thessalian pileus; but the following passage in Philostratus renders it probable that the Athenians called it an Arcadian hat; ἐπέστη ὁ Ἡρῴδης Ἀρκάδι πίλῳ τὴν κεφαλὴν σκιάζων ὡς ἐν ὥρᾳ θέρους εἰωθει Ἀθήνησιν.
Philostr. in Herod.

[2] The Neptune, Theseus, Agraulus, Pandrosus and Erechtheus, are only to be seen in Carrey's drawings; the seven magistrates are in No. 19, 20, of the Elgin collection.

[3] From Carrey's drawings.

with pateræ[1], beyond whom two others[2] terminated the eastern end of the frize at the north-east angle. The north side, like the south, began with victims[3], which are followed by the σκαφηφόροι or metæci, bearing trays filled with loaves of bread and other offerings[4]: after these came three men bearing skins of wine on their shoulders; four[5] players on the flute, by the side of the first of whom was a boy leading a hog; then four players on the lyre, after whom was a crowd of men of different ages on foot[6]. These are followed by cars similar to those on the south side[7]. From hence to the extremity of the northern side is a procession of men

[1] No. 21 of the Elgin collection.

[2] Carrey's drawings.

[3] Carrey's drawings.

[4] One of these and part of a second are in No. 22 of the Elgin collection.

[5] Visconti says three, but Carrey's drawings, which are now the only authority, clearly indicate four.

[6] Carrey's drawings.

[7] Carrey drew five cars, fragments of all which are in the British Museum, in No. 23, 24, 34, 35, of the Elgin collection; one of them is mounted by a young person alone, whom Visconti supposed to have been intended for a personification of Victory. These cars, like those belonging to the southern frize, are all quadrigæ. Visconti therefore was mistaken in describing some of them as drawn by two and others by three horses.

on horseback[1], with the same admirable variety of action, costume, and drapery displayed in the horsemen of the southern frize. Among the last figures are two dismounted horsemen, the last of whom is followed by a boy on foot, who is the last figure at the north-west angle. The procession of the horsemen at the western extremity of the south-side, ended in like manner with the figure of a man on foot.

On the western frize the figures face to the north, or spectator's left, so that this part must be considered as a continuation of the northern column of the procession. Like the adjoining end of the northern side, it is formed in part of dismounted horsemen, and was undoubtedly intended to represent the rear of the procession, where the individuals had not yet fallen into their ranks. Some are represented as drawing on their buskins, others as adjusting their bridles; others are just about to mount their horses, while some are contending with their horses, which are endeavouring to escape. A magistrate[2] at the north-west angle appears to super-

[1] Nos. 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 35, 36, 37, 38, 32, 33, of the Elgin collection. One of the horsemen, on No. 32, has an Arcadian hat hanging over his shoulders.

[2] This figure, being on the return face of the stone, which formed the extremity of the northern side, has been preserved with that part of the frize, and is in No. 33 of the Elgin collection.

intend this part of the procession, which terminates at the south-west angle, with a man on foot holding up his chlamys. The western frize differs from the others, in having the figures in general more detached from one another.

Metopes. Of the metopes in the frize of the peristyle, it has already been remarked, that there were ninety-two in all, fourteen on either front, and thirty-two on either flank of the temple. The height of the relief of these works, some parts of which are entirely detached from the tablet, together with their exposed situation rendered them peculiarly liable to injury, from wanton violence and from the effects of weather. The southern side, however, from some cause difficult to explain, escaped better than the others, which appears to have been the reason why Carrey, when the temple was complete, copied all the metopes of this side, and not any of the three others.

Fifteen of the original metopes of the southern side are now in the British Museum, and one in that of Paris. From the circumstance of there being a Centaur in all these metopes, as well as in all those published by Stuart, it has often been supposed that these fabulous monsters furnished the subjects of all the metopes of the Parthenon[1]; but upon examining those

[1] Stuart has contributed still farther to this error, by representing Centaurs in the metopes of his *restored* western

which still subsist upon the ruined building, it appears that, out of thirty-six, the designs of which are more or less decypherable on the east, north, and west sides, not one contains a Centaur; so that it is probable, that the Centaurs were only on the south side of the temple. Even on that side it is shown by the drawings of Carrey, that nine of the metopes towards the middle did not contain Centaurs, and that of the remaining twenty-three, five (one of which is in the British Museum) represented not a Centauromachia, but a Centaur carrying off a woman; so instead of the *combats* of the Centaurs having supplied subjects for all the metopes of the temple, they were represented upon eighteen only out of the ninety-two. On the eastern and western fronts we may still trace remains, more or less perfect, of the greater part of the metopes. On the northern side, the destruction of the central part of the building carried with it all the metopes between the third, (beginning from the east) and the twenty-fourth; and of these intermediate ones we have now no records whatever.

The variety of these works, and the beautiful execution still manifest in every remnant of

front of the Parthenon, where he could hardly have failed to perceive that they did not exist.

them, furnish a new and surprising proof of the admirable skill and invention of the Athenian sculptors. It would be equally interesting to the artist and the scholar to discover the intentions of Phidias, in the choice and arrangement of the subjects; but their explanation is very difficult, not less from the total loss of some of the metopes, and from the very imperfect state of others, than from our ignorance of many parts of the mythology of Athens. The Centauromachiæ show that the fabulous wars of the Athenians supplied a part of the subjects; it may be presumed that the great actions and inventions of Minerva herself, together with the exploits of the heroes, who immortalized themselves under her influence were also included among them[1]. The following are the only remarks which these considerations have suggested to me, upon an examination of the drawings of the metopes, made by Carrey, by the artists employed by Lord Elgin and by Mr. Cockerell.

Those of the eastern front seem to relate to actions of Minerva herself, and of the principal

[1] In this light there are few great exploits of ancient heroes, that might not form the subject of a metope of the Parthenon, Minerva having been the peculiar protectress of heroic actions; as such she is often in the ancient designs, or poetical descriptions of them, represented as present.

Athenian heroes, treated nearly in the same manner in which we so often find them delineated on the ancient Athenian pottery[1].

On the north side, a female figure is seen in most of the metopes of which we have any remains. Hence it may be conjectured, that this side related in great part to the war of the Amazones, in like manner as the opposite side of the temple related chiefly to the other great fabulous Athenian contest with the Centaurs[2].

On the west front, the seventh and eighth, from

[1] On the east front, beginning from the south, the first metope represents a hero, killing a fallen adversary, who has a lion's skin. 2. Hercules and Iolaus contending with the Hydra. 3. Another hero subduing his adversary. 4. Minerva Gigantophontis (slaying one of the rebel giants.) 5. Minerva, the inventress of chariots for war or racing. 6. Hercules delivering Theseus from captivity. 7. Minerva taming Pegasus for Bellerophon. 8. Another victorious hero. 9. Hercules with the stolen tripod seized by Apollo. 10. Minerva, the inventress of chariots. 11. Theseus delivering an Athenian from the Minotaur. 12. Minerva Gigantophontis. 13. Another victorious hero. 14. A biga rising from the water; two fishes near the wheels. The male figures are all either naked or with a loose chlamys suspended upon the arms. In the monomachiæ one (and sometimes each) of the combatants has a round shield. The women are for the most part draped to the feet.

[2] Of the remaining metopes on the north side, the 26th and 30th (from the east) are quite obliterated. The following are most remarkable: the 25th, which represents two females before an altar; the 29th resembles the ancient designs of

the southern end, are obliterated; but it appears from the others, that the subjects throughout were alternately a horseman, with a prostrate pedestrian, and two combatants on foot; the odd numbers (beginning from the south) containing the latter, and the even numbers the horsemen. This symmetry and conformity of subject render it probable that the whole front related to the warlike exploits of the Athenians[1].

It has already been stated that, on the south side, all the metopes had reference to the war with the Centaurs, with the exception of nine towards the centre[2].

Bellerophon watering Pegasus; Bellerophon was said to have made war upon the Amazones (Il. Z. v. 186.—Pind. Ol. 13. —Apollod. l. 2. c. 3.) The last, at the west angle, which is very beautiful and well preserved, represents a woman draped, holding a large veil with both hands, and standing before a draped figure seated upon a rock.

[1] The dress of the vanquished pedestrian in No. 1, and his shield in No. 5, seem to be Persian.

[2] Of these metopes our only memorials are the drawings of Carrey. It does not appear whether he numbered them from the east or the west. No. 13 contains, Two female figures. 14. A man holding his chlamys with both hands; a woman, who stands beside him, looks into a box, which is in her left hand, while her right holds the lid: perhaps Erechtheus with Herse, or Agraulus. 15. A draped figure in a biga. 16. A victor about to strike a prostrate enemy. 17. A man; a woman stands behind him, holding something in both hands. 18. Two female figures in strong action: a small figure on

Under each metope of the eastern front are seen quadrangular holes, which, since their formation, have been filled with pieces of marble. Similar excavations are seen also on the western front, but over each column only. As we are informed by Pausanias, that the temple of Jupiter at Olympia was adorned in this part with gilded shields[1], and that at Delphi with golden shields[2], and that the tyrant Lachares, when he fled from Athens before Demetrius Poliorcetes, carried away with him, together with a part of the gold of the statue of Minerva, the golden shields in the Acropolis[3]; it is highly probable this may have been the situation of those golden shields: that the holes in the architrave were made for the reception of the fastenings of the shields, and that they were

one side. 19. Two female figures. 20. One of the Fates unrolls a volume; the other holds a pair of shears in her right hand. 21. Two women: one of them, naked above, crowns a small statue upon a column, which stands between them.

[1] τοῦ δὲ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ ναοῦ τῆς ὑπὲρ τῶν κιόνων περιθεούσης ζώνης κατὰ τὸ ἐκτὸς ἀσπίδες εἰσὶν ἐπίχρυσοι, μία καὶ εἴκοσι ἀριθμὸν, ἀνάθημα στρατηγοῦ Ρωμαίων Μομμίου.—Pausan. Eliac. Prior. c. 10.

[2] ὅπλα δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπιστυλίων χρυσᾶ· Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν τὰς ἀσπίδας ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔργου τοῦ ἐν Μαραθῶνι ἀνέθεσαν.—Pausan. Phocic. c. 19.

[3] Λαχάρης . . . . . ἀσπίδας ἐξ ἀκροπόλεως καθελὼν χρυσᾶς καὶ αὐτὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τὸ ἄγαλμα τὸν περιαιρετὸν ἀποδύσας κόσμον, &c.—Pausan. Attic. c. 25.

filled up after the robbery of Lachares. On the eastern front, there were inscriptions between the shields; the holes by which the letters of metal were attached, being still apparent in the marble.

Pediments. It remains only to speak of those magnificent compositions of statuary which decorated either pediment of the temple. With the exception of two mutilated statues near the northern angle of the western front, none of these are now remaining upon the building. The only evidence, therefore, which we possess to guide us in determining either the general subject of the two compositions, or the personages for whom the several statues were intended, is to be found in a comparison of the existing fragments preserved in the British Museum, with the description given of the works themselves, by certain persons who formerly saw them upon the temple. These persons are, 1. Pausanias, who merely states that, at the entrance of the Parthenon, the works in the pediment (ἐριοῦσιν.. ἐν τοῖς ἀετοῖς) related to the birth of Minerva, and that those of the opposite end (ὄπισθε) represented the contest of Neptune and Minerva for the Attic land. 2. Carrey, who designed them for the Marquis de Nointel, in the year 1674. 3. Spon and Wheler, who have described them as they existed in the year 1676; that is to say,

in the same state in which they were drawn by Carrey. 4. Stuart, who delineated all that remained in the year 1752.

It might naturally be supposed that Pausanias having supplied us with the subject of these works, Carrey having designed them when there were several figures in the eastern pediment, and when the western wanted not much of being complete—that the fragments, moreover, of some of those in the western pediment, together with all those designed by Carrey in the eastern, being now in the British Museum; there ought, therefore, to be no great difficulty in explaining them. It unfortunately happens, however, that the drawings of Carrey are so badly executed, that the original character of many of the figures is quite lost, and that in the eastern pediment all the central and principal figures, upon which the explanation of the entire composition must chiefly depend, were lost before the drawings of Carrey were taken. Hence it is still a matter of doubt in which of the two pediments the contest of Neptune and Minerva was represented, and in which of them the birth of Minerva.

I am aware that this question is supposed by many persons to be decided by the eastern facing of the cell, since it is sufficiently proved, from the position of the twelve deities in the

centre of the eastern side of the frize, and from the direction of the two columns of procession towards that point, that the eastern end of the cell was that by which the procession entered, and consequently that the great statue of the goddess faced to the east. We know, indeed, from Plutarch[1] that ancient temples generally had that aspect; we find it exemplified in all the principal temples existing in Greece, and among them in the temple of Minerva Polias, and it is fully confirmed as to one of the statues in the two temples of Minerva in the Acropolis by a passage in Dion Cassius[2]; whence it can hardly be doubted that both of them had the same eastern aspect. It is evident, therefore, that the larger

[1] Πρὸς ἕω τῶν ἱερῶν βλεπόντων.—Plutarch. Paral. in Numa. It appears that this practice of the time of Numa was afterwards reversed by the Romans; for Vitruvius says, "Signum quod erit in cellâ spectet ad vespertinum cœli regionem ..... ut qui adierint ad aram..... spectent ad partem cœli orientis et simulacrum, quod erit in æde."—Vitruv. l. 4. c. 5.

In Greece there were probably many exceptions to eastern fronting among the sanctuaries of the minor deities. The temple of Pandrosus furnishes one example.

[2] Where he relates a prodigy which happened at Athens in the reign of Augustus. The statue of Minerva in the Acropolis, which before faced the east, was found turned towards the west.

.... τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἄγαλμα.... ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει πρὸς ἀνατολῶν ἱδρυμένον πρός τε τὰς δύσμας μετεστράφη καὶ αἷμα ἀπέπτυσεν.—Dion Cass. l. 54, c. 7.

or western apartment of the building contained the statue facing to the east, and that the smaller was the opisthodomus[1], or celebrated treasury, where the valuable offerings and pledges were

[1] Harpocration, Suidas, the scholiast of Aristophanes, and the Etymologicum, leave it doubtful whether the opisthodomus was a portion of the Parthenon or a separate building: but Plutarch is decisive in shewing that it was a part of the temple. He tells us that the Athenians, by an excess of flattery towards Demetrius Poliorcetes, lodged him in the opisthodomus of the Parthenon as a guest of the goddess, and that such was the irregularity of his life, that he was by no means a creditable guest for a virgin to receive in her house. The several authorities just stated are subjoined for the reader's satisfaction.

Ὁ οἶκος ὁ ὄπισθεν τοῦ νεὼ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς οὕτω καλεῖται, ἐν ᾧ ἀπετίθεντο τὰ χρήματα.—Harpocrat. in Ὀπισθόδομος.

....μέρος τι τῆς Ἀκροπόλεως τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἔνθα ἦν τὸ ταμεῖον, ὄπισθεν τοῦ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ναοῦ, ἐν ᾧ ἀπετίθεντο τὰ χρήματα.—Suidas, in Ὀπισθόδομος.

Ὀπισθόδομος· ὄπισθε τοῦ νεὼ διπλοῦς τοῖχος τῆς καλουμένης Πολιάδος Ἀθηνᾶς, ἔχων θύραν, ὅπου ἦν θησαυροφυλάκιον.—Schol. Aristoph. Plut. v. 1194.

....τὸ ὄπισθεν παντὸς οἰκήματος· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ τὸ ταμιεῖον τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων, ἐπεὶ ἦν ὄπισθεν τοῦ ἱεροῦ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς.—Etymol. Mag. in Ὀπισθόδομος.

....τὸν γὰρ ὀπισθόδομον τοῦ Παρθενῶνος ἀπέδειξαν αὐτῷ κατάλυσιν· κἀκεῖ δίαιταν εἶχε, τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς λεγομένης ὑποδέχεσθαι καὶ ξενίζειν αὐτὸν, οὐ πάνυ κόσμιον ξένον οὐδ' ὡς παρθένῳ πρᾴως σταθμεύοντα.—Plutarch. Paral. in Demetr.

Were it not for the mistake of Minerva Polias for Parthenon, the expression of the scholiast of Aristophanes would contain a very accurate description of the opisthodomus:

deposited, the nature of which is shewn by the inscribed marbles found upon the spot, several of which are now in the British Museum[1].

But although it cannot be doubted that in regard to the statue of the goddess and its worship, and in regard to all the religious ceremonies of the temple, the eastern end of the cell was its front, and the principal, perhaps the only, entrance into the larger chamber; yet it is very doubtful whether the eastern end of the peristyle was considered the front of the entire building, any more than the western. At either end is a pronaos before a large door, entering into the cell, and we find no distinction whatever in the external appearance of the fronts. It seems highly probable, therefore, that it was the express intention of Ictinus[2], that neither

the words διπλοῦς τοῖχος ὄπισθε τοῦ νεώ, ἔχων θύραν are exactly suited to the western chamber of the cell of the Parthenon, the θύρα being the great door which opened into the western vestibule.

[1] One was brought to England by Chandler, and presented to the British Museum by the Society of Dilettanti. This, with two others, were copied at Athens by Chandler, and are published in the Inscriptiones Antiquæ, p. 41. There are some other fragments from the opisthodomus in the Elgin collection, which have not yet been published.

[2] It appears from the testimony of Strabo and Pausanias, that Ictinus was the most celebrated architect of his time, and that the Parthenon, the mystic temple of Eleusis, and

front should have a superior degree of importance over the other: nor is it difficult to account for this intention of the architect; for if the eastern end was the front in reference to the religion of Athens, the western as facing in the same direction as the Propylæa and entrance of the citadel, and as looking down upon the Agora and Peiræeus, and towards Corinth and the Isthmus, had a still stronger claim to that distinction. And hence it has arisen that all travellers, as well those before the time of Stuart, who was the first to observe the indications of the eastern fronting of the cell, as those who have followed Stuart without paying particular attention to his remarks upon the subject, have been in the habit of supposing the western pediment to be that which Pausanias

the temple of Phigalia, were the great monuments of his genius. Plutarch, indeed, is somewhat at variance with these two authorities as to Ictinus. He states the Eleusinian temple to have been the work of Corœbus, Xenocles, and Metagenes, and that the Parthenon was the joint work of Ictinus and Callicrates. But Callicrates was probably only the ἐργολάβος, or contractor for the expenses; in which capacity Plutarch tells us that he was employed in the additions made to the Long Walls by Pericles. It appears from Ausonius that in a later age the credit of the Parthenon was given solely to Ictinus.

——————— in arce Minervæ
Ictinus. Auson. Mosel. v. 308.

meant by the words ἐσιοῦσιν—ἐν τοῖς ἀετοῖς, and the eastern pediment to be that which he designated by the word ὄπισθε. Such, in fact, must naturally be the impression of every spectator in reference to the fronting of the Propylæa, and to the position of the Acropolis with regard to the surrounding scenery, and such therefore was, in all probability, the idea of Pausanias himself; for it is almost unnecessary to repeat, that Pausanias seldom viewed or pretended to describe the buildings or works of art in Greece as an artist or an architect, but chiefly as a mythologist; so that in speaking of buildings, monuments, and even of the situations of places, the vulgar and obvious meaning is generally to be attached to his words, and not the refined and technical.

If his word ὄπισθε appears improper as applied to that front of the exterior temple which covered the approach to the great statue, the words ἐν τοῖς ἀετοῖς, on the other hand, seem, in the manner in which Pausanias employs them, strongly to mark that he intended to designate by them the western pediment. This will appear from the following considerations.

It cannot be doubted that Pausanias, in his description of the Acropolis, adopted some particular order in mentioning the several monuments. What this order is appears from the rela-

tive situations of the Parthenon, Erechtheium, and four other monuments, which no longer exist, but the positions of which are known from a comparison of other authorities with that of Pausanias. These monuments are, 1. The statue of Jupiter Polieus. 2. The Gigantomachia, or battle of the gods and giants, on the southern wall. 3. The brazen statue of Minerva, by Phidias, dedicated from the tenth of the spoils of Marathon. 4. The brazen chariot with four horses, dedicated from the tenth of the spoils of the battle of Chalcis.

1. The statue of Jupiter Polieus, which is mentioned by Pausanias as being the last among those occurring between the Propylæa and Parthenon, is evidently the Jupiter mentioned in the comedy[1] as standing near the Opisthodomus

[1] ΚΑΡΙΩΝ. Ἱδρυσόμεσθ' οὖν αὐτίκ· .....
Τὸν Πλοῦτον, οὗπερ πρότερον ἦν ἱδρυμένος (ὁ Ζεύς),
Τὸν ὀπισθόδομον ἀεὶ φυλάττων τῆς Θεοῦ.
Aristoph. Plut. v. 1192.

That this Jupiter was one of the most important among the Athenian idols is evident, as well from his epithet of Polieus as from the antiquity of his worship, his festival of Diipolia (for which see Meursius Græc. Fereat. in Βουφονία and Διϊπολ.), and the remarkable ceremony at his altar, twice recorded by Pausanias (Attic. c. 24. 28.) It may be objected, perhaps, that in a preceding verse of Aristophanes (v. 1190) this Jupiter is called Soter, and not Polieus; but Soter was an epithet applied occasionally to all Jupiters: thus the Jupiter Eleutherius of the Cerameicus was also denominated Soter (see Section I.) and the orator Lycurgus applies the

of Minerva, and whom Cario proposes to remove for the purpose of setting up Pluto in his place.

2. The part of the southern wall adorned with the battle of the giants is exactly indicated by Pausanias and by Plutarch. The former states this dedication of Attalus to have been upon the wall Notium[1], which in another place[2] he informs us was near the Dionysiac theatre, and Plutarch[3] mentions that the statue of Bacchus belonging to the battle of the giants was thrown down by a violent wind, and fell into the theatre. Hence it clearly appears that the Gigantomachia stood upon the top of the wall overhanging the theatre, that is to say, upon the southern wall, towards the eastern end[4].

epithet of Soter to Jupiter Polieus at the same time that he gives that of Soteira to the Minerva of the Acropolis.... οὔτε τὴν Ἀκρόπολιν καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Σωτῆρος καὶ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Σωτείρας ἀφορῶν καὶ προδιδοὺς ἐφοβήθη.—Lycurg. in Leocrat. p. 148. ed. Reiske.

[1] Ἐπὶ τοῦ Νοτίου καλουμένου τείχους, ὃ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ἐς τὸ θέατρόν ἐστι τετραμμένον.—Attic. c. 21.

[2] Πρὸς δὲ τῷ τείχει τῷ Νοτίῳ Γιγάντων, οἱ περὶ Θράκην ποτὲ καὶ τὸν Ἰσθμὸν τῆς Παλλήνης ὤκησαν, τούτων τὸν λεγόμενον πόλεμον, &c.—Attic. c. 25.

[3] Τῆς Ἀθήνησι Γιγαντομαχίας ὑπὸ πνευμάτων ὁ Διόνυσος ἐκσεισθεὶς εἰς τὸ θέατρον κατηνέχθη.—Plutarch. Paral. in Marc. Anton.

[4] The other three dedications of Attalus, namely, the con-

3. The brazen colossus of Minerva, by Phidias. From the ancient coin of Athens, published in the title-page of this volume, compared with the testimony of Herodotus and Pausanias, we obtain the most satisfactory evidence as to the situation of this colossal statue, which was commonly called Minerva Promachus[1]. The coin shows that in a view of the

test of the Athenians with the Amazons, the battle of Marathon, and the destruction of the Gauls in Mysia, were probably ranged in a similar manner along the top of the Cimonian wall, so as to reach as far as opposite the Parthenon.

[1] Schol. Demosth. cont. Androt. p. 597. Ed. Reiske. The whole of this note of the Scholiast, descriptive of the three statues of Minerva in the Acropolis, is curious and accurate: Παρθενὼν ναὸς ἦν ἐν τῇ Ἀκροπόλει Παρθένου Ἀθηνᾶς, περιέχων τὸ ἄγαλμα τῆς θεοῦ, ὅπερ ἐποίησεν ὁ Φειδίας, ὁ ἀνδριαντοπλάστης, ἐκ χρυσοῦ καὶ ἐλέφαντος· τρία γὰρ ἀγάλματα ἦν ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἐν διαφόροις τόποις· ἓν μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς γενόμενον ἐξ ἐλαιᾶς, ὅπερ ἐκαλεῖτο Πολιάδος Ἀθηνᾶς, διὰ τὸ αὐτῆς εἶναι τὴν πόλιν· δεύτερον δὲ τὸ ἀπὸ χαλκοῦ μόνου ὅπερ ἐποίησαν νικήσαντες οἱ ἐν Μαραθῶνι· ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ τοῦτο Προμάχου Ἀθηνᾶς· τὸ τρίτον ἐποιήσαντο ἐκ χρυσοῦ καὶ ἐλέφαντος ὡς πλουσιώτεροι γενόμενοι ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Σαλαμῖνι νίκης, ὅσῳ καὶ μείζων ἡ νίκη· καὶ ἐκαλεῖτο Παρθένου Ἀθηνᾶς.

The words περιέχων τὸ ἄγαλμα τῆς θεοῦ, descriptive of the cell and statue of the Parthenon, seem to be those of an eye-witness; for comparing the dimensions of the statue, twenty-six cubits in height, standing upon a base, not less than twenty feet square and eight feet high, with the height and breadth of the cell, it is evident that the cell must

northern side of the Acropolis the statue appeared between the Parthenon and Propylæa; and, as the words of Pausanias indicate that it stood near the brazen quadriga, dedicated from the spoils of Chalcis, which, according to Herodotus[1], was on the left hand of the traveller

have had the appearance, to a spectator at the door, of a mere case to contain the statue, thus adding to the impression of grandeur made by so colossal a figure. I do not presume to enter into the great *architectural* question of the formation of the roof, which involves other inquiries respecting the position of the statue; but as the situation and diameter of the column, of which traces are left on the pavement of the eastern chamber, appear to be in perfect agreement with the account given by Pausanias of the chamber in which was the statue of Jupiter at Olympia, his words descriptive of the interior of that rival and contemporary edifice may with some confidence be applied to the Parthenon. These words are, Ἑστήκασι ἐντὸς τοῦ ναοῦ κίονες· καὶ στοαί τε ἔνδον ὑπερῶοι καὶ πρόοδος δι' αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄγαλμά ἐστι. Upon the whole, therefore, it seems probable that the central part of the eastern chamber was hypæthral, or open to the sky; that there were aisles on either side of the hypæthrum, formed by the lower range of columns; that above these was an upper range of columns forming a portico on either side, as we still see at Pæstum; and that the statue stood towards the western end of the chamber, under a part of it which was roofed. This position of the statue, indeed, has been ascertained by Mr. Cockerell, by indications on the pavement.

[1] ....τῶν λύτρων τὴν δεκάτην ἀνέθηκαν, ποιησάμενοι τέθριππον χάλκεον· τὸ δὲ ἀριστερῆς χερὸς ἔστηκε πρῶτον ἐσιόντι ἐς τὰ Προπύλαια τὰ ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει.—Herodot. l. 5. c. 77.

as he entered the Acropolis through the Propylæa, it appears evident that the Minerva Promachus must have occupied some part of the space between the Erechtheium and Propylæa, near the Pelasgic, or northern wall[1].

Having fixed these four points, we shall find that the position of them all is exactly conformable with the order of the different objects mentioned in the description of the Acropolis by Pausanias, if we suppose him to have turned to the right immediately after traversing the Propylæa; to have then advanced directly upon the Parthenon—after passing that building, to have described the objects at the eastern end of the citadel, and to have completed the circuit by returning to the Propylæa along the northern side of the citadel, by the Erechtheium and the statue of Minerva Promachus. To turn to the right, it may be remarked, was the natural course for every person to follow in entering the Acropolis, because it led directly to the princi-

[1] This position of the statue accounts for the remark of Pausanias, that the crest of the helmet and the point of the spear were visible to those who sailed by Sunium towards Athens. He evidently means that, upon first coming in sight of Athens, the extreme summit of the statue was seen over the Parthenon. As the summit of the temple was 70 feet higher than the platform of the statue, the height of the Minerva Promachus must have been upwards of seventy feet; the pedestal probably about twenty, and the statue fifty-five, or fifteen feet taller than the statue in the Parthenon.

pal monument, the Parthenon: it was also (and this may have been another motive with Pausanias for giving the above-mentioned order to his description) the direction of the sacred procession on the Panathenaic festival; for it can scarcely be doubted, from the frize of the Parthenon, that the procession, after having arrived in the space which lies between the southern wing of the Propylæa, and the western end of the Parthenon, divided itself into two columns, which, after having marched in parallel lines, along the northern and southern sides of the temple, met in the centre of the eastern end, where those whose duty it was entered the temple, and completed the ceremony. And the foregoing supposition of the direction of the route of Pausanias through the Acropolis is corroborated by some of the minuter circumstances of his description: for he speaks of the temple of Minerva Polias, which is the eastern division of the Erechtheium, before the Pandrosium, or western; and he mentions the statue of Minerva Promachus before the brazen chariot, after which monument he notices only two statues before he concludes his description of the Acropolis, thus agreeing with Herodotus, who places the brazen chariot immediately on the left hand of the entrance.

If such was the regular order observed by Pausanias, it appears perfectly natural that, after having described the different objects con-

tained in the space comprehended between the southern wing of the Propylæa and the western end of the Parthenon, he should, after mentioning the statue of Jupiter Polieus, which was the last of those objects, proceed to speak of the adjacent *entrance*[1] into the Parthenon, and of the pediment above it. The natural consequence would be the application of the word ὄπισθε to the opposite end of the temple.

It would follow from this interpretation of the meaning of Pausanias, that the composition in the western pediment represented the birth of Minerva, and that the contest of Neptune and Minerva for the guardianship of Attica was in the eastern pediment. It remains, therefore, to be inquired, whether those compositions, as far as we are acquainted with them from their remaining fragments in the British Museum, and from the drawings of Carrey, justify such a supposition by internal evidence.

There are two circumstances which concur in forbidding the hope of our ever arriving at any certainty in this inquiry: one is, the total want of evidence as to the central figures of the

[1] .... ὁ ὀνομαζόμενος Πολιεύς.... Ἐς δὲ τὸν ναὸν ὃν Παρθενῶνα ὀνομάζουσιν, ἐς τοῦτον ἐσιοῦσιν ὁπόσα ἐν τοῖς καλουμένοις ἀετοῖς κεῖται, πάντα ἐς τὴν Ἀθηνᾶς ἔχει γένεσιν· τὰ δὲ ὄπισθεν ἡ Ποσειδῶνός πρὸς Ἀθηνᾶν ἐστιν ἔρις ὑπὲρ τῆς γῆς.—Pausan. Attic. c. 24.

eastern pediment; the other, the small number and very mutilated state (with one exception) of the fragments which have been saved from the western pediment: so that we depend almost entirely upon the rude drawing of the western pediment by Carrey. Upon a careful examination, however, of this drawing, and of the existing remains of the original statues, I am strongly disposed to think that the subject of the western pediment was the birth of Minerva, or, more properly, the presentation by Jupiter, of Minerva, immediately after her birth, to the assembled deities of Olympus. Such was the opinion of Spon and of Wheler: and when it is considered that these are the only travellers who ever saw and described the western pediment in the entire state in which it was designed by Carrey, and that Spon in particular was a most able explainer of antiquity, it must be allowed that their opinion is deserving of great consideration[1].

[1] It has been objected, that the architectural blunders made by Spon and Wheler, in describing the Parthenon, prove their opinions upon the works of the pediments to be of little value. But it should be considered that there is a wide difference between seizing the meaning of a *picture*, as this kind of composition may be called, and accurately describing the architecture of a building upon a transient view of it.

In consequence of the imperfection of Carrey's drawings, and the injury which the works had already sustained when that artist designed them, we are unable to distinguish any symbols or attributes upon any of the figures except upon the female figure which stood upon the right of the great male figure in the centre of the pediment. The ægis upon the breast of this statue clearly shows it to be Minerva[1]. This is admitted by those who conceive the subject of the western pediment to have been the *Contest*, but they suppose this figure to represent the goddess, who has just produced the olive tree, while the male figure, which, according to their supposition, was Neptune, is striking the ground with his trident, to bring forth the salt spring. But in this case it seems unaccountable that the artist should have given an inferior degree of importance to the victorious goddess, and should have made her defeated rival the largest and most prominent figure of the whole work: it is equally difficult to conceive where the olive tree (for we cannot doubt that it made a conspicuous appearance in the composition) could have been

[1] A fragment of this figure, with a part of the ægis, is in the Elgin collection of the British Museum, numbered 75.

placed, the two statues being so near to each other: nor is it easy to reconcile the attitude of the male figure [1] with the supposed action of Neptune; for instead of looking towards the ground, which he is supposed to be striking, he turns his head and stretches forth his right arm in the opposite direction, while Minerva, instead of being accompanied by any appearance of an olive tree, is stretching out her arm to the chariot, and the train of figures which fill up the pediment as far as the north-west angle.

I am inclined to believe, therefore, that the subject of this composition was the presentation of Minerva to the assembled divinities; that the great male figure is Jupiter, in the attitude of advancing towards the gods, while he turns his face and stretches out his right arm towards his daughter, and that Minerva is, by a similar action, triumphantly pointing to her attendant train.

As the Athenians considered Minerva to have been the inventress of war-horses and chariots, and usually represented her as accompanied by Victory, we are not surprised at finding a biga

[1] The shoulders of this statue, numbered 64, are in the British Museum; the position of the arms agrees precisely with the drawing of Carrey, and leads us to presume that the attitude of the whole figure has been correctly given by him.

bearing Victory[1] as the first group in her suite: the male figure[2] standing by the side of the chariot, in the same situation and attitude wherein an attendant is seen accompanying the chariots represented upon the frize of the Parthenon, is probably Erichthonius, or Erechtheus, who was the *πάρεδρος*[3], or assistant of Minerva in these great inventions; or, in other words, the king, in whose reign the Athenians made this great advancement in military art, pomp, and luxury. If we assign to the figures which fill up the rest of this division of the pediment the names of the most renowned individuals of the early

[1] The torso of this statue is numbered 69 in the British Museum.

[2] The torso also of this figure is in the British Museum, and is numbered 76. Supposed by Visconti to have been intended for Cecrops.

[3] Aristides, in the Panathenaic oration, after having ascribed to Minerva the invention of letters, laws, and arms, and of chariots, both *ἁμιλλητήρια* and *πολεμιστήρια*, adds, *καὶ ζεύγνυσιν ἐν τῇδε τῇ γῇ, πρῶτος ἀνθρώπων ὁ τῆσδε τῆς θεοῦ πάρεδρος ἅρμα τέλειον σὺν τῇ θεῷ καὶ φαίνει πᾶσι τὴν τελείην ἱππικήν.*—P. 184. ed. P. Steph.

Λέγεται γὰρ Ἐριχθόνιον μὲν τὸν τῆς θεοῦ τρόφιμον πρῶτον ἀνθρώπων ἅρμα ζεῦξαι ἵππων.—Aristid. Orat. in Jovem. p. 22.

It seems from Virgil, Georg. l. 3, v. 113. and from Pliny, l. 7, c. 56, that the Latins ascribed the invention of the biga to somebody else, and of the quadriga only to Erichthonius; but it is not probable that the Athenians admitted this.

history of Athens[1], the reclining figure in the angle[2] was probably Theseus reposing after his labours, but raising and advancing his body a little, to behold the great action in the centre of the pediment. Between him and the car of Victory was perhaps the family of the founder of the kingdom of Athens—Cecrops, with his daughters, Pandrosus, Herse, and Agraulus, and his son Erysichthon. These names, in fact, with those of Erechtheus and Theseus, comprise all the chief deified personages of Attic history, and with perfect propriety, therefore, form the retinue of Minerva on the great occasion of her introduction into Olympus.

To the left of Jupiter there is a vacancy in

[1] It may perhaps be thought an anachronism to introduce the kings of Athens at the time of the birth of Minerva; but it may be observed, that to give the gods the power of embodying futurity upon the occasion of this great event was perfectly in the spirit of the *poetry* of ancient sculpture.

[2] Visconti supposed this figure to be a personification of the river Ilissus, starting up to witness the victory of Minerva. His only reason for calling it Ilissus was that in the contest of Œnomaus and Pelops, represented in the pediment of the temple of Jupiter at Olympia, the two rivers of Olympia, Cladeus and Alpheius, were personified in the angles. To give such a reason any validity there should have been a figure similar to the supposed Ilissus in the opposite angle of the pediment of the Parthenon, instead of which we find a reclining female figure.

the drawing of Carrey, which indicates that one statue at least was wanting in this part of the composition. In a picture of the birth of Minerva, described by Philostratus[1], Vulcan was represented bearing the hatchet with which he had just opened the head of Jupiter; his look was expressive of surprise and awe at seeing Minerva armed, while Jupiter contemplated his daughter in an ecstasy of delight; and even Juno appeared to regard her with the same pleasure as her own offspring. This description agrees so well with the apparent intention of the artist, as to the two remaining central statues of the composition, that it seems highly probable that the missing figure was Vulcan.

Such is the indistinctness of Carrey's drawings, that it is not easy to determine whether the large sitting figure to the spectator's right, which faces the centre of the composition, was a male or a female deity; but as all the male gods, both in the pediments and frize, are either naked or clothed only on the lower limbs, and as this

1 φρίττουσι τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν, ἄρτι τῆς τοῦ Διὸς κεφαλῆς ἐν ὅπλοις ἐκραγεῖσαν Ἡφαίστου μηχαναῖς, ᾧ ὁ πέλεκυς. . . . καὶ ὁ Ἥφαιστος ἀπορεῖν ἔοικεν ὅτῳ ποτὲ τὴν θεὸν προσαγάγηται, προαναλωται γὰρ αὐτῷ τὸ δέλεαρ ὑπὸ τοῦ τὰ ὅπλα συνεκφῦναί οἱ. ὁ Ζεὺς δὲ ἀσθμαίνει σὺν ἡδονῇ καθάπερ μέγαν ἐπὶ μεγάλῳ κάρπῳ διαπονήσαντες ἄθλον καὶ τὴν παῖδα ἐξιστορεῖ, φρόνων τῷ τόκῳ. καὶ οὐδὲ τῆς Ηρας τὶ δεῖνον ἐνταῦθα, γέγηθε δὲ, ὡς ἂν εἰ καὶ αὐτῆς ἐγένετο.—Philost. Icon. in Ἀθηνᾶς γόναι.

figure has drapery on the bust, it seems rather to have been intended for a goddess. In this case its magnitude and position favour the opinion that it was Juno; for, as to the small figure at its feet, which has the semblance of a dolphin, and which has been supposed to identify it with Neptune or Amphitrite, it is possibly a mere creature of Carrey's imagination, like the cluster of human heads, which he has represented under the horses of Minerva's car[1]. The standing figure on the right of Juno may possibly be Ceres; and as it is difficult to suppose that any other than the elder deities of Olympus were introduced into a composition descriptive of the birth of Minerva, the figure next to Juno is probably Latona[2] bearing Apollo and Diana in her arms, behind whom may be Maia with the young Mercury in her lap. The single sitting figure behind Maia may perhaps be Vesta, and the two remaining figures are probably Mars and Venus, these two deities being so often represented as companions upon an-

[1] It has already been remarked, that the gods were distinguished from one another, among the Athenians, more by countenance, attitude, and form, than by symbols.

——"sua quemque Deorum
Inscribit facies:"——

as Ovid remarks in a passage cited at length in a succeeding note.

[2] A small fragment of this statue is in the British Museum, marked number 73.

cient monuments. Their heads are turned towards each other as if conversing, while the male figure very naturally points with his right arm towards the central group.

In endeavouring to fill up the centre of the eastern pediment, upon the supposition that its subject was the *Contest*, we may derive some assistance from Ovid, who, in his fable of the Metamorphosis of Arachne, introduces Minerva embroidering the contest[1]; and from Apollodorus, who, like Ovid, states the contest to have taken place in the presence of Jupiter and the Eastern Pediment.

[1] Cecropiâ Pallas scopulum Mavortis in arce
Pingit et antiquam de terræ nomine litem.
Bis sex cœlestes, medio Jove, sedibus altis
Augustâ gravitate sedent; sua quemque Deorum
Inscribit facies. Jovis est regalis imago.
Stare Deum pelagi, longoque ferire tridente
Aspera saxa facit, medioque e vulnere saxi
Exsiluisse ferum quo pignore vindicet urbem.
At sibi dat clypeum, dat acutæ cuspidis hastam
Dat galeam capiti: defenditur ægide pectus.
Percussamque suâ simulat de cuspide terram
Prodere cum baccis fœtum canentis olivæ;
Mirarique Deos. Operi victoria finis.
Ovid, Met. l. 6, fab. 1, v. 70.

Ovid has here substituted the *horse* for the *salt-spring*: this was a common error of the Latins, which was not supported by any Athenian authority. Some persons, however, read *fretum*, instead of *ferum*.

other gods[1]. Jupiter was probably seated on his throne in the centre of the pediment; Minerva standing on one side of him armed, and accompanied by her olive-tree, owl, and serpent, and Neptune on the other, bringing forth the salt-spring with a stroke of his trident[2]. As the other figures on either side of the main subject were the deities of Olympus, it is probable that Visconti was right in his conjectures as to some of them; notwithstanding his persuasion that the eastern pediment represented not the *contest* but the *birth;* for some of the deities might be equally suitable

[1] . . . γενομένης δὲ ἔριδος ἀμφοῖν περὶ τῆς χώρας, Ἀθηνᾶν καὶ Ποσειδῶνα διαλύσας Ζεὺς, κριτὰς ἔδωκεν, οὐχ, ὡς εἶπον τινὲς, Κέκροπα καὶ Κραναὸν οὐδὲ Ἐρεχθέα, θεοὺς δὲ τοὺς δώδεκα.—Apollod. l. 3. c. 14.

[2] Φανέντων δὲ τῶν συμβόλων ἑκατέρωθεν τοῦτε ῥοθίου καὶ τοῦ θαλλοῦ, νικᾷ μὲν Ἀθηνᾶ, &c.—Aristid. Orat. Panath. p. 183. The serpent and the owl of Minerva were probably not omitted: we find them both introduced upon a coin of Athens, which represents the contest, published by Stuart, (Antiq. of Ath. vol. 2. p. 16.) It is remarkable that there is in the Elgin collection a fragment of a colossal serpent, which certainly belonged to one of the pediments of the Parthenon. I am much inclined to believe that it was the serpent of Minerva from the eastern pediment; for its dimensions are exactly similar to those of another fragment in the Elgin collection, which must have belonged to one of the pediments, and which represents the stump of a tree between the two feet of a colossal figure, in the attitude usually given to Minerva in the *Contest.*

to either subject. He has clearly shown that the horses' heads at the two extremities of the pediment belonged to the cars of the sun and of night[1]: he is probably equally correct in considering the young god[2] reposing upon the skin of a lion as Hercules resting after his labours; nor can it well be doubted that the female figure, moving rapidly away from the centre of the action, is Iris, commissioned to communicate to gods and men, not the news of the birth of Minerva, as Visconti supposed, but the news of Minerva's victory. The two seated figures[4] towards the south side of the pediment, I take to be Venus and Peitho; for we find these two deities similarly represented

[1] See Memoire, &c. par E. Q. Visconti, p. 33, 39.

[2] Marked 71 in the Elgin collection, and commonly called the Theseus. To those who are inclined to think that this figure is Bacchus, reposing upon the skin of a panther, it may be observed, that Bacchus was a deity of too much importance among the Athenians not to have had a place nearer the centre of the composition, whereas the reclining attitude of this figure, and its position near the extremity, seem well suited to a deity, who, at the period of the contest of Neptune and Minerva, may be supposed to have lately terminated his labours, and to have been recently admitted among the Olympian deities.

[3] See Memoire, &c. p. 38. This figure is numbered 74 in the British Museum.

[4] This is the group marked No. 77 in the British Museum: it was supposed by Visconti to have been intended for Ceres and Proserpine.

upon an Athenian vase, where the names are annexed to the figures[1]. The association of these two goddesses is indeed too well known to require any remark[2], and it was peculiarly appropriate at Athens, where they were worshipped in the same temple[3]. For the latter reason, also, I am inclined to think that the two female figures[4] towards the northern end of the pediment represent Ceres reclining on the lap of her daughter Proserpine. The single female, seated near them[5], is probably Vesta; for it is too far removed from the centre of the

[1] This beautiful specimen of Athenian pottery, upon which is delineated the *enlévement* of Thetis by Peleus in the presence of the gods, was found in an excavation made by Sandford Graham, Esq. M. P., in the ancient cemetery of Athens, on the north side of the city. It has been engraved for publication in the second volume of Memoirs upon Turkey, edited by the Rev. R. Walpole.

[2] Peitho, with the name annexed, is seen attending upon Venus on a monument published by Winkelman, Monumenti Inediti, No. 115. At Olympia, on the base of the throne of Jupiter, Peitho was represented crowning Venus (Pausan. Eliac. prior. c. 11). And Horace has coupled these two goddesses in a well-known verse—

Et bene nummatum decorat Suadela Venusque.

Horat. Epist. l. 1, ep. 6, v. 38.

[3] Pausan. Attic. c. 22.

[4] Marked No. 63 in the British Museum; and supposed by Visconti to have been two of the Fates.

[5] Marked No. 67, and supposed by Visconti to have been the third Fate.

composition for Juno, and had it been intended for Diana, it would probably have had some marks of the quiver, or of the belt which supported it.

There remains one other fragment in the British Museum, which has neither been represented in the drawings of Carrey, nor in those of Stuart, having been found upon the floor of the pediment, where it was invisible from below[1]. Two deep square holes at the back of the shoulders, for the purpose of attaching some massy appendage, seem to show that it was either a winged Νίκη, attending upon the victorious Minerva, or Diana bearing a quiver; for we may suppose either of these deities to have occupied a place towards the centre of the composition, where this fragment was found. The absence of a belt across the breast, such as was necessary for supporting a quiver, and such as is usually represented upon statues of Diana, rather incline one to the belief that it belonged to a Victory.

Erechtheium.

The description of the Erechtheium by Pausanias, is a remarkable instance of his want of method and logical consistency; and it is only by comparing the testimony of some other authors with the existing ruins of the building, that his

[1] It is the torso marked 72 in the British Museum.

account of it is rendered intelligible. Having first remarked that the Erechtheium was a double building, which had a well of salt water within it, he proceeds to give a description of the temple of Minerva Polias, and then adds some observations upon the sacred olive-tree, in which, although he does not assert that the tree was in the temple of Polias, that impression is inevitably left on the reader's mind. He afterwards describes the temple of Pandrosus as being contiguous to that of Polias, and thus upon the whole he naturally gives rise to the supposition adopted by Stuart, and many other persons, that there were three temples, all of which we expect to find in that compound, irregular, and very beautiful structure which stands to the north of the Parthenon.

There are three passages however in ancient history, which, when compared with Pausanias and with the existing ruins, sufficiently explain the original intention of the building, and show that it comprehended not three but two temples only. From Herodotus[1] we learn that the temple of Erechtheus contained both the well

[1] Ἐστι ἐν τῇ Ἀκροπόλι ταύτῃ Ἐρεχθῆος τοῦ γηγενέος λεγομένου εἶναι νηὸς, ἐν τῷ ἐλαίη τε καὶ θάλασσα ἔνι· τὰ λόγος παρὰ Ἀθηναίων Ποσειδέωνά τε καὶ Ἀθηναίην, ἐρίσαντας περὶ τῆς χώρης, μαρτύρια θέσθαι. Herodot. l. 8, c. 55.

and the olive-tree. By two other authors[1], we are informed that the olive-tree stood in the temple of Pandrosus. The result therefore seems evidently to be that the word Erechtheium, or temple of Erechtheus, so called as having been founded by Erechtheus, otherwise called Erichthonius, and as having been his place of interment, was often applied to the entire building; that the word was employed in this sense by Pausanias; that the two divisions of the double building were the temples of Polias and of Pandrosus, and that Pausanias had no intention of describing the olive-tree as being within that division of the Erechtheium properly called the temple of Polias, although the arrangement of his words appears to bear that meaning. Considerable ambiguity in regard to the edifice has arisen from the circumstance of the entire structure having often been called the temple of Minerva Polias as well as the Erechtheium; a practice not at all surprising,

[1] Ἦκεν οὖν πρῶτος Ποσειδῶν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν καὶ πλήξας τῇ τριαίνῃ κατὰ μέσην τὴν Ἀκρόπολιν ἀνέφηνε θάλασσαν, ἣν νῦν Ἐρεχθηίδα καλοῦσι· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον, ἦκεν Ἀθηνᾶ κα ποιησαμένη τῆς καταλήψεως Κέκροπα μάρτυρα, ἐφύτευσεν ἐλαίαν, ἣ νῦν ἐν τῷ Πανδροσίῳ δείκνυται.—Apollod. l. 3, c. 14.

Κύων εἰς τὸν τῆς Πολιάδος νεὼν εἰσελθοῦσα καὶ δῦσα εἰς τὸ Πανδρόσιον ἐπὶ τὸν ζῶμον ἀναξᾶσα τοῦ Ἐρκείου Διὸς τὸν ὑπὸ τῇ ἐλαίῳ κατέκειτο. Philochor. Ἀτθίδος l. 9. ap. Dionys. Halicarn. in Dinarch.

when it is considered that the temple of Polias was the most important part of the building; and that the statue of the goddess here worshipped was the most sacred in Attica, and considered to be the peculiar protectress of the citadel. There has been another source of uncertainty in the error, frequent both among ancients and moderns, of confounding Minerva Polias with the Minerva of the Parthenon.

The words of one of the authors cited in the preceding page show that of the two divisions of the Erechtheium; the eastern was the temple of Minerva, and the western that of Pandrosus. It is related by Philochorus, that a bitch having entered the temple of Polias, and descended (δῦσα) into the Pandrosium, there lay down upon the altar of Jupiter Herceius, which was under the olive-tree. Now we find, upon examining the existing ruin, that the hexastyle portico to the east, together with the chamber into which it led, were upon a level eight feet higher than all the remaining part of the building. The latter therefore was the Pandrosium, into which the dog descended; and the eastern chamber, with its hexastyle front, formed the temple of Minerva Polias. From the words of Pausanias, together with the other authorities relating to this temple[1], it would seem that before this co-

[1] See Section I.

lonnade was an altar of Jupiter: that under the colonnade were altars of Neptune and Vulcan; that on the wall of the same portico were the pictures of the Butadæ[1]; and that within the cell were the Erechtheian salt-well, the wooden statue of Minerva, with the lamp and brazen palm-tree before it, the altar of Oblivion, the sacred serpent, the wooden statue of Hermes, the chair of Dædalus, and the Persian spoils.

The Pandrosium consists of two chambers, of which the western is narrow, and opens into a portico at either end. The northern portico is formed of six Ionic columns, four in the front and one on either flank, and it stands not far from the edge of the precipice, at the foot of which was the temenus of Agraulus. I have already remarked that the relative situation of these two sanctuaries appears to accord with the Athenian tale concerning the daughters of Cecrops. While the sanctuary of Agraulus (and perhaps that of Herse also) was in the rocks below, in the situation where they threw themselves over; the temple of Pandrosus, who alone remained faithful to Minerva, was placed

[1] Stuart found, among the ruins of the temple, a marble fragment inscribed, Ἱερέως Βούτου.—(Antiq. of Athens, vol. 2. p. 16. 22.)

on the summit of the hill, under the same roof with the goddess; and here it was customary, whenever a heifer was sacrificed to Minerva, to immolate a sheep to Pandrosus[1].

The southern portico of the Pandrosium is much smaller than the northern. Instead of columns, its roof is supported by six caryatides, or statues of women in long drapery, one hand supporting a part of the drapery, the other hanging down by the side: these stand upon a podium, or low wall, and are disposed like the columns of the northern portico, that is to say, four in front, and one on either flank.

As the ground on the outside of the southern portico was on the same level with the pavement of the temple of Polias, or eight feet

[1] Philochor. ap. Harpocrat. in Ἐπίξοιον.—Meurs. Attic. Lect. l. 3. c. 22.

Nothing can more strongly show the antiquity of the religious worship attached to this temple, than the allusion to these peculiar sacrifices by Homer in the Catalogue.

Οἳ δ' ἄρ' Ἀθήνας εἶχον, εὐκτίμενον πτολίεθρον,
Δῆμον Ἐρεχθῆος μεγαλήτορος, ὃν ποτ' Ἀθήνη
Θρέψε, Διὸς θυγάτηρ, τέκε δὲ ζείδωρος Ἄρουρα
Κάδδ' ἐν Ἀθήνης εἶσεν, ἑῷ ἐνὶ πίονι νηῷ·
Ἐνθάδε μιν ταύροισι καὶ ἀρνειοῖς ἱλάονται
Κοῦροι Ἀθηναίων, περιτελλομένων ἐνιαυτῶν.

Iliad, B. v. 546.

higher than the pavement of the Pandrosium, it was necessary to form a descent by steps from a door on the eastern flank of the portico, to the door which entered from the portico into the narrow, or western chamber of the Pandrosium. The remains of these two doors, with their intermediate steps, are still in existence; and as the steps occupy the greater part of the space within the portico, they prove that the portico was nothing more than a staircase and entrance to the temple, and therefore could not have been, as some persons have supposed, a receptacle for the sacred olive. This tree seems rather to have grown in the western or narrow chamber of the Pandrosium, where great pains have evidently been taken for the admission of air and light, through the portico at either end, and through three windows placed in the intervals of four engaged Ionic columns, which adorn the western wall on the outside. Here, therefore, I am inclined to think, grew the tree of Minerva; the crooked Pancyphus,[1] which was held in such high veneration by the Athenians, and which had been burnt but not destroyed by the Persians.[2]

As to the eastern or interior chamber of the

[1] Hesych. in Ἀστῆ et in Πάγκυφος.

[2] Herodot. l. 8, c. 55. Pausan. Attic. c. 27.

Pandrosium, which was contiguous to the cell of Minerva Polias, I am disposed to think with Stuart, that it was the Cecropium. That Cecrops was buried in this edifice appears to have been the common belief[1], and upon an inscribed marble[2], wherein different parts of this building are specified, we find the Cecropium mentioned in a manner which leaves little doubt of its having been an integral part of the building[3].

[1] Ἐν τῷ νεῷ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἐν Λαρίσσῃ (scil. arce Argivâ) τάφος ἐστὶν Ἀκρισίου, Ἀθήνῃσι δὲ ἐν Ἀκροπόλει Κέκροπος, ὡς φησὶν Ἀντίοχος ἐν τῷ ἐννάτῳ τῶν ἱστορίων.—Clem. Alexand. Cohort. ad Gent. p. 13. Ed. Sylburg.

In historiarum Antiochus nono Athenis in Minervio memorat Cecropem esse mandatum terræ.

Arnob. adv. Gent. l. 6.

Καὶ γὰρ Ἀθήνῃσιν, ὡς Ἀντίοχος ἐν τῇ ἐννάτῃ γέγραφεν ἱστορίᾳ, ἄνω γὲ ἐν τῇ Ἀκροπόλει Κέκροπός ἐστι τάφος παρὰ τὴν Πολιοῦχον αὐτήν. Theodoret. Therap. l. 8.

[2] This marble was brought to England by Dr. Chandler, and was presented by the society of Dilettanti to the British Museum. Chandler failed in the reading of several parts of it, and it is only recently that a correct copy and explanation of it have been given by Mr. Wilkins in his Atheniensia, p. 193; and in the Memoirs upon Turkey, edited by the Rev. R. Walpole, p. 580.

[3] The principal parts of the building are described as follows:

Ἐπὶ τῇ γωνίᾳ τῇ πρὸς τοῦ Κεκροπίου
Ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχου τοῦ πρὸς τοῦ Πανδροσείου

This very curious inscription is the record of a public report, made by a commission, con-

Ἐπὶ τοῦ τοίχου τοῦ πρὸς νότον or νότου ἀνέμου
Ἐν τῇ προστάσει τῇ πρὸς τῷ Κεκροπίῳ
Ἐπὶ τὴν πρόστασιν τὴν πρὸς ἕω
Ἐν τῇ προστάσει τῇ πρὸς τοῦ θυρώματος.

Here we are sure, that the τοῖχος ὁ πρὸς τοῦ Πανδροσείου means the western wall of the building, because the inscription speaks of the four engaged columns (ΙΙΙΙ κειμένων κιόνων) in that wall; because it speaks also of the κρηπὶς or podium, upon which those columns stood, and of the Eleusinian stone which is still seen in the frize above the engaged columns. (Ὁ Ἐλευσινιακὸς λίθος, πρὸς ᾧ τὰ ζῶα, ἐτέθη ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπιστάτων τούτων τῶν κιόνων τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ τοιχοῦ τοῦ πρὸς τοῦ Πανδροσείου). Upon this *zophorus* or frize of Eleusinian stone, remains of the iron cramps which served to fix on the ζῶα or figures in relief, are still visible. In like manner we know the πρόστασις ἡ πρὸς τῷ Κεκροπίῳ to have been the southern portico of the Cecropium, because mention is afterwards made of the Κόραι, or statues of women, in that portico. With these data it cannot be doubted also that the πρόστασις ἡ πρὸς ἕω or eastern portico was the hexastyle pronaos of the temple of Polias; and that the πρόστασις ἡ πρὸς τοῦ θυρώματος, likewise called ἡ στόα, was the northern portico of the Pandrosium, which received the former name from its position before that magnificent door which still exists, and the latter name from its superiority to the other porticos in size and depth. Mr. Wilkins, to whose previous remarks I am indebted for what I have added of my own upon this subject, thinks that the Cecropium was a monument separate from the Erechtheium; but, independently of the evidence adduced in the preceding

sisting of two inspectors (ἐπισϑάται), an architect, and a secretary, who had been appointed by the people of Athens, to take an account of the parts of the building, which were then finished, and of those which remained to be wrought. It is dated in the archonship of Diocles, who held that office in the third year of the ninety-second Olympiad, which was the twenty-third of the Peloponnesian war, or the year before Christ 409. As it appears from Xenophon[1], that

page, of Cecrops having been buried within the building, it may be remarked that if τοῖχος ὁ πρὸς τοῦ Πανδροσείου, meant the wall of the Pandrosium, the γωνία πρὸς τοῦ Κεκροπίου being expressed with the same preposition, governing the same case, probably meant the angle *of* the Cecropium, whence it may be inferred that the Cecropium was an integral part of the building. It is observable that in speaking of the portico of the Caryatides, Κεκροπίῳ follows πρὸς in the dative case and not the genitive. This difference of case may have arisen from the circumstance of that portico having been attached to the Cecropium, without immediately leading into it, and without forming an essential part of it, as did the northern portico with respect to the northern door. The latter portico, we have already seen, is called πρόστασις πρὸς τοῦ θυρώματος in the genitive.

[1] Τῷ δ' ἐπιόντι ἔτει, ᾧ ἡ σελήνη ἐξέλιπεν ἑσπέρας καὶ ὁ παλαιὸς τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς νεὼς ἐν Ἀθήναις ἐγεπρήσθη, Πίτιος μὲν ἐφορεύοντος, ἄρχοντος δὲ Καλλίου Ἀθήνησιν, οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, &c.

Xenoph. Hellen. l. 1. c. 6.

It has been asserted (Memoirs on Turkey, edited by the

in the archonship of Callias, three years after that of Diocles, or before Christ 406, the tem-

Rev. R. Walpole, p. 583), that Xenophon, in this passage, was not speaking of the Erechtheium, but of the Hecatompedum, or old temple of Minerva, which, having been burnt by the Persians, was succeeded by the Parthenon. The supposition is chiefly grounded upon a passage of Pausanias (Phocic. c. 35), wherein he informs us that several ruins of temples burnt by the Persians, and still subsisting in his time, had been purposely left, as memorials of the Persian invasion, ἐς τὸν πάντα χρόνον τοῦ ἔχθους ὑπομνήματα: it is supposed, therefore, that the Hecatompedum was one of these. But however frequent this custom may have been elsewhere, it is not probable that it was adhered to in the Acropolis of Athens, where the space was so very confined. We know that it was not in the instance of the Erechtheium, and it is very improbable that so large a building as the Hecatompedum should have been built in any other position than that central and advantageous one, which was afterwards occupied by the Parthenon. It may be asked also, how could the Hecatompedum be burnt a second time? If its worship had been transferred to the Parthenon, and it was intended only as a memorial of the Persian invasion, we cannot suppose it was ever repaired, its mere ruins being sufficient to answer every purpose.

On the other hand, however little of the old Erechtheium may have survived in the new, it was very natural that, in ordinary discourse, it should be called the old temple of Minerva (ὁ παλαιὸς νεὼς τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς), to distinguish it from the Parthenon. Strabo mentions it in the same manner, ὁ ἀρχαῖος νεὼς τῆς Πολιάδος, ἐν ᾧ ὁ ἄσβεστος λύχνος. The inscription, indeed, being an official document, describes it

ple again suffered from a fire, which must have once more left it in an imperfect state, it is probable that the building of which the remains are now seen in the citadel of Athens, was not finally completed until after the Peloponnesian war, perhaps about the year 393 B. C., when the Athenians had so far recovered from the effects of the war, as to re-establish, under the administration of Conon, their long walls and the walls of Peiræeus.

It is evident, from the words of Herodotus, already cited, that the Erechtheium was not totally destroyed by the Persians under Xerxes; for he says, that the king, repenting of having set fire to it, ordered, a few days afterwards, the Athenian exiles who were in his camp to go up to the Acropolis and perform their sacrifices in the temple: it was upon this occasion that they were said to have found that the sacred olive which had been burnt in the temple had made a new sprout of a cubit in length. Herodotus afterwards[1] tells us, indeed, that Mardonius utterly overthrew every thing which had been spared by Xerxes; but

more accurately by the words, νεὼς ἐν πόλει ἐν ᾧ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἄγαλμα, "the temple in the citadel, in which was the ancient statue."

[1] Herodot. l. 9. c. 13.

as the historian, notwithstanding these strong expressions, speaks of a temple of Erechtheus as still existing in his time, it seems probable that, like the temples of Juno in the Phaleric road, and of Ceres at Phalerum, some remains of the walls of the old Erechtheium had survived the Persian invasion, and having received some repairs, served for divine worship until the new edifice was begun. When we consider the peculiar form of the building, and that neither the salt well nor olive-tree[1], nor the tombs of Cecrops and Erechtheus, could easily be moved, it is not only evident that the new Erechtheium must have been built upon the ancient site, and of the same form as the old building, but it becomes highly probable also that it was constructed upon the ancient foundations, with the addition of porticos and other external decorations, the design of which is certainly to be ascribed to that period preceding the Peloponnesian war, when taste and invention were in their meridian among the Athenians, and when they were anxiously en-

[1] Herodotus and Pausanias, who wrote at an interval of six hundred years, and Apollodorus, who lived midway between them, all speak of the sacred olive as of the original tree planted by Minerva. Hence, at least, it is evident that *an* olive tree always grew upon the same spot in the Erechtheium.

gaged in restoring the temples, which had been destroyed by the Persians. In this beautiful specimen of the Ionic order they seem to have been ambitious of excelling their Asiatic brethren in their own peculiar order of architecture, by the addition of new and elaborate ornaments, imagined with the utmost ingenuity and elegance of taste, and executed with a sharpness and perfection, which it could hardly have been supposed that marble was capable of receiving.

Statues of the Acropolis.

From what has already been said respecting the order observed by Pausanias, in his description of the several monuments of art in the Acropolis, their general situation may be inferred with some degree of accuracy. It may be presumed that, near the Propylæa to the right of the entrance, and opposite to the brazen quadriga, was the hierum of Venus Leæna, which contained the brazen lioness, and the statue of Venus, by Calamis. Between this sanctuary and that of Diana Brauronia stood the Diitrephes, the two Hygieiæ, the Aspergillifer by Lycius, and the Perseus slaying Medusa, by Myron. Between the temple of Diana and the Parthenon were, the Trojan horse, the Epicharmus, the Ænobius, the Hermolycus, the Phormio, Minerva slaying Marsyas, Theseus

overcoming the Minotaur, Phrixus sacrificing the ram, Hercules slaying the serpents, Minerva rising from the head of Jupiter, and the Bull, dedicated by the Areiopagus. Not far from the temple of the Genius of Pious Men stood the warrior with silver nails, by Cleœtas, and Earth praying for rain; then the Timotheus, the Conon, the Procne and Itys of Alcamenes, the contest of Neptune and Minerva, the Jupiter by Leochares, and the Jupiter Polieus. In front of the Parthenon towards the east stood the Apollo Parnopius by Phidias, the Anacreon, and the statues by Deinomenes of Io and Callisto. Very near the eastern extremity of the Acropolis, not far from that part of the southern wall which overhung the Dionysiac theatre, were the Olympiodorus, the Diana Leucophryne, and the ancient statue of Minerva by Endœus. Near the temple of Minerva Polias (probably on the south, for, on the opposite side, the ground was low and concealed) were the half-burnt figures of Minerva, the small statue of Lysimacha, and the colossal composition of Erechtheus and Eumolpus. Between the latter and the brazen chariot, which I have already shown to have been near the Propylæa and Pelasgic wall, were the hunting of the wild boar, Cycnus fighting with Hercules, Theseus finding the slippers and

sandals under the rock, Theseus subduing the Marathonian bull, the Cylon, and, lastly, the brazen colossus of Minerva Promachus by Phidias[1], whose position appears to have been at the north-western angle of the upper platform, where its western boundary, which is still traced about midway between the north-west angle of the Parthenon and the Propylæa, formed a right angle with the wall which is seen running west from the Pandrosium. Near the brazen chariot and the entrance of the Propylæa, were a Pericles, and the Minerva Lemnia of Phidias.

Such appears to have been the general distribution of the several works of art described by Pausanias. It is probable, however, that these were not one half of the statues which stood in the Acropolis in his time; for it is evident that he has confined himself to those of the best times and of the great masters, and that he has passed over in silence all the monuments of the servility and dependent condition of Athens, with which the Acropolis, in common with the other parts of the city, had been filled from the

[1] It is probable that the designs of several of these admirable productions are still to be found upon ancient gems. Some idea of the attitude and proportions of the magnificent memorial of the victory of Marathon, the colossus of Minerva Promachus, may be seen on the coin, where it is represented standing between the Propylæa and the Parthenon.

time of Alexander the Great. He more than once says, that it was the object of his work to notice only the most remarkable monuments of Greece[1]; and in the midst of his description of the statues of the Acropolis he informs us that, between the Diitrephes pierced with arrows, and the two Hygieiæ, there were some portraits of persons of no great note. The latter remark is illustrated by another writer[2], from whom we learn that there was a statue of the mother of Isocrates standing near the Minerva Hygieia. There was also a statue of Isocrates himself, which Pausanias has not spoken of. It stood in the sphæristra, or tennis-court of the Arrhephori[3], which must have been near the Erechtheium; for it cannot be doubted that the Arrhephori[4] were the same as the Canephori, or two virgins, who carried baskets upon their heads in the Panathenaic festival, and who, as Pausanias tells us, dwelt near the temple of Polias.

There was a Mercury in the Acropolis surnamed the Uninitiated (ἀμύητος[5]), and a brazen

[1] See Section I.

[2] Plutarch, de X Rhet. in Isocrat.

[3] Id. ibid.

[4] For the Arrhephori, see Meurs. Attic. Lect. l. 4, c. 19.

[5] Hesych. in Ἑρμῆς Ἀμύητος.—Clemens Cohort. ad gent.

ram, compared, for its colossal dimensions, to the Trojan horse, Durius[1], of which Pausanias speaks.

We find mention made by Plutarch of a statue of Minerva erected in the Acropolis by Nicias[2]. Diogenes Laertius, who wrote not many years after Pausanias, says[3], that, of the innumerable statues erected in honour of Demetrius of Phalerum, that which stood in the Acropolis alone remained in the time of the biographer. Other authorities speak of an ox presented by Lysias[4], and of a man standing by a horse dedicated by Diphilus, upon the occasion of his being made a Roman knight[5]. These, or any others which we may find recorded in ancient history, are either to be numbered among the εἰκονες ἀφανέστεραι, or portraits of persons of little consequence, which Pausanias passes by in silence, or among those which had been carried away by the plunderers who had despoiled Athens before his time.

To his exclusion of Roman names in enumerating the statues of the Acropolis, Pausanias has admitted only of one exception in favour of

[1] Hesych. in Κριὸς ἀσελγόκερως.
[2] Plutarch, Paral. in Nicia.
[3] In vitâ Demet. Phal.
[4] Lucilius Tarrhæus, in Collect. Proverb.
[5] Jul. Poll. l. 8. c. 10.

the Emperor Hadrian, whom alone he could acknowledge a fit companion for the patriots and benefactors of Athens[1]. But the servility and flattery of the Athenians had not failed to crowd the citadel, as well as every part of the town, with statues of powerful Romans. A few of their dedicatory inscriptions have been discovered and reported by modern travellers[2].

It has been supposed by some former writers upon Athens, that among the objects left unnoticed by Pausanias in the Acropolis, were temples sacred to Jupiter Polieus, to Pandion, to Venus Hippolyteia, and to Rome and Augustus[3].

[1] He omits no occasion of doing justice to Hadrian, for his generous conduct towards Greece (see Attica, c. 3, 20.) and he carefully records every instance of the emperor's munificence.

[2] In the Inscriptiones Antiquæ of Chandler are several dedications to Romans, found in the Acropolis; among these are, one in honour of Drusus, brother of the emperor Tiberius; another to the poet Festus Avienus; and a third to the sophist Lollianus, who had a statue also in the Agora, as having been στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τῶν ὅπλων, an office which, though formerly military, as the name implies, had at that time dwindled into the superintendance of the Agora, and of the supplies of provisions. Παλαὶ ἐξῆγεν ἐς τὰ πολέμια, νῦνι δὲ τροφῶν ἐπιμελεῖται καὶ σίτου ἀγορᾶς. Philost. in Lollian. It is on this account that we find the name of the strategus, for the time being, in the inscription, which is of the time of Augustus, over the gate of the new Agora.

[3] Meurs. Cecrop. c. 27, 28. Stuart's Antiq. of Athens, Vol. I. c. 1. Chandler's Travels in Greece, c. 20.

We have seen that the statue of Jupiter Polieus was one of the most important in the Acropolis; and it appears, from the orator Lycurgus[1], to have stood in a sanctuary which once contained another statue[2]. As Pausanias speaks only of the statue of Jupiter, one is led to believe, that, like some other statues of Grecian deities and heroes, it stood with an altar before it in an uncovered hierum[3]. The sanctuary of Pandion, to which there is an allusion in one of the inscriptions copied at Athens by Chandler[4], was probably of the same kind as that of Jupiter Polieus: and it seems, from the situation in which the marble was found by Chandler, to have stood near the eastern extremity of the Acropolis. The sanctuary of Diana Brauronia, although more particularly specified by Pausanias, was probably of the same kind as the two former.

It has already been remarked[5], that the temple of Venus Hippolyteia was the same as that which has been stated by Pausanias to have been dedicated to Venus and Peitho.

[1] See the passage in p. 239.

[2] That of the father of Leocrates. Lycurg. adv. Leocrat. p. 231.

[3] Jupiter Eleutherius, in the Cerameicus, appears in like manner to have had an altar and a statue only (Pausan. Attic. c. 3. Aristid. in Panath.)

[4] Inscript. Antiq. p. 49.

[5] See page 171.

As to the temple of Rome and Augustus, the supposition of its former existence rests entirely upon an inscription which was copied at Athens, in the year 1437, by Ciriaco d'Ancona, and which contains a dedication "to the Goddess Rome, and to Augustus Cæsar; Pammenes, strategus of the Hoplitæ, being priest of those deities in the Acropolis; Megiste being priestess of Minerva Polias, and Areus being archon." Gruter and others, who have published this inscription, state, that it was found in the vestibule of the Parthenon[1]: it is still to be seen however, not in the vestibule of that temple, but on a large circular pedestal, ninety feet from the centre of its eastern front. We know that Augustus forbade the provinces to make any dedications to him, without adding the name of Rome[2]. It is probable, therefore, that the pedestal supported a colossal statue of Augustus, and that there was no other sanctuary of Rome and Augustus in the Acropolis.

In fact, when we compare the dimensions of the Cecropian hill with the great number of monuments, of the existence of which we have undoubted evidence, we are almost at a loss to

[1] Gruter, p. 105.—Fabric. descr. Rom. c. 2.—Corsini. Fasti Attici, p. 42.—These authors say, "the temple of Minerva Polias;" but as they state the temple to be dedicated "Beatæ Virgini," they evidently mean the Parthenon, which, before the Turkish conquest, was a church of the Panaghía.

[2] Sueton. in August. c. 52.

find sufficient space for them. It is impossible, therefore, to admit the suggestion of a celebrated traveller[1], that, in addition to the temples and other monuments, there were houses divided into regular streets. Such an arrangement would not have been consonant either with the religion or the good taste of the Athenians. We know, from Thucydides, that when the people of Attica crowded into Athens at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, and when religious prejudices gave way, in every possible case, to the necessities of the occasion, even then the Acropolis remained uninhabited[2]. In order, therefore, to form a due conception of the wonderful effect of this storehouse of the arts, and to do justice to Athenian taste, we must imagine the platform of the hill cleared of every extraneous building, and consider the whole Acropolis as one vast composition of architecture and sculpture; or, to use the words of a Greek rhetorician, as a single monument or magnificent dedication to the gods[3].

Walls of the Acropolis.

We learn from Plutarch, that the southern wall of the Acropolis was rebuilt by Cimon,

[1] Chandler's Travels in Greece, c. 11.

[2] Thucyd. l. 2. c. 17. The Eleusinium was the only other forbidden place.

[3] ἡ πόλις ..... τὴν Ἀκρόπολιν κατεκόσμησε τοῖς τῶν ἔργων ὑπομνήμασι καὶ τῷ τῆς φύσεως κάλλει καὶ τὸ παρὰ τοῦ πλούτου καὶ τῆς τέχνης ἐφάμιλλον προσέθηκεν, ὥστ' εἶναι πᾶσαν ἀντ' ἀναθήματος μᾶλλον δ' ἀντ' ἀγάλματος.—Aristid. Panath.

and from him received the name of Cimonium. The part, therefore, which Pausanias[1] states to have been built by the Pelasgi must have been on the north side. It would seem[2] that these Pelasgi, who belonged to the wrecks of a nation more skilled at that period in the arts than the Athenians, were the original fortifiers of the Cecropian hill; that the summit was from this circumstance occasionally known by the name of the Pelasgic fortress[3], and that this fortress had fallen into decay before the Persian war, as we find upon that occasion that it was necessary to protect the hill with pallisades, and

[1] Pausan. Attic. c. 28.

[2] Herodot. l. 2. c. 51.—l. 6. c. 137. Thucyd. l. 4. c. 109.

[3] Herodotus (l. 5. c. 64.) tells us, that Cleomenes, king of Sparta, besieged the Pisistratidæ in the Pelasgic fortress (*ἀπεργμένους ἐν τῷ Πελασγικῷ τείχεϊ*) which cannot mean any thing but the Acropolis itself, *τεῖχος* being here certainly used in its sense of a fortress.—Myrsilus, an author quoted by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (l. 1. c. 19.) asserts, that the wall built by the Pelasgi *surrounded* the Acropolis (—*τοὺς Πελασγοὺς*.....*Ἀθηναίοις τὸ τεῖχος τὸ περὶ τὴν Ἀκρόπολιν περιβάλειν.*) The same is also stated by Cleidemus (ap. Suid. in *Ἄπεδα* et *Ἠπέδιζον*), who says, that the Pelasgi levelled the Acropolis, and built around it the nine-gated Pelasgicum, *ἠπέδιζον τὴν Ἀκρόπολιν, περιέβαλλον δὲ ἐννεάπυλον τὸ Πελασγικόν.* The nine gates were probably on the steep winding ascent of the western end. The nature of the ground suggests a succession of barriers as an eligible mode of defence. There are now three or four gates in the course of the ascent.

other similar expedients[1]. By the continuance in later ages of the name of Pelasgicum to the northern wall, or at least to the western part of it towards the grotto of Pan[2], it appears probable that some part of the old Pelasgic fortress was incorporated into the new works raised after the Persian war.

There can be little doubt that the greater part of the existing walls, although disfigured by reparations of various ages, and carefully kept covered with a coat of whitewash, according to the usual Turkish mode of concealing defects, and inspiring distant respect, consists of the original Hellenic work, raised by Themistocles and Cimon. A part of the southern wall, where the profile is not less than sixty feet in height, appears in particular to consist almost entirely of the ancient Cimonian work; and the centre of the northern side still bears the strongest evidence of that haste with which Thucydides describes the fortifications of Athens to have been restored after the Persian war, when the Athenians, having returned to the city upon the departure of the Barbarians, found nothing left but a small part of the walls, and some of the

[1] Herodot. l. 8. c. 51. Pausan. Attic. c. 18.

[2] . . . . τὸν Πᾶνα. . . . οἰκεῖ μικρὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ Πελασγικοῦ.
Lucian in Bis Accusat.
Pausan. Attic. c. 28.

houses which had been occupied by the Persian grandees[1]. By the counsel of Themistocles they instantly set about rebuilding their fortifications, and completed the lower part during the intentional delays of an embassy to Sparta, which Themistocles advised and conducted in person[2]. "The work," says Thucydides[3], who wrote about forty years afterwards, "bears marks of the haste with which it was constructed; for the foundations are built of stones of every shape

[1] In the first capture of the Acropolis by Xerxes the temples were burnt (Herod. l. 8, c. 53). When the Persians quitted Athens the second time, Mardonius destroyed every remaining building, ἐμπρήσας τε τὰς Ἀθήνας, καὶ εἴ που τι ὀρθὸν ἦν τῶν τειχέων ἢ τῶν οἰκημάτων ἢ τῶν ἱρῶν πάντα κατα-βαλὼν καὶ συγχώσας.—Herod. l. 9. c. 13. Thucydides adds, that when the Athenians returned, τοῦ περιβόλου βραχέα εἰστήκει, καὶ οἰκίαι αἱ μὲν πόλλαὶ ἐπεπτώκεσαν, ὀλίγαι δὲ περιῆσαν, ἐν αἷς αὐτοὶ ἐσκήνησαν οἱ δυνατοὶ τῶν Περσῶν.

Thucyd. l. 1. c. 89.

[2] Thucyd. l. 1. c. 90, 91, 92. Plutarch, Parall. in Themist.

[3] δῆλη ἡ οἰκοδομία ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐστιν ὅτι κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐγένετο· οἱ γὰρ θεμέλιοι παντοίων λίθων ὑπόκεινται καὶ οὐ ξυνειργασμένων ἔστιν ἡ, ἀλλ' ὡς ἕκαστοί ποτε προσέφερον· πολλαί τε στῆλαι ἀπὸ σημάτων καὶ λίθοι εἰργασμένοι ἐγκατελέγησαν.—Thucyd. l. 1. c. 93.

The force of the word ξυνειργασμένων in this passage will be well understood by those, who have observed the beautiful accuracy with which the Greeks fitted together the masonry of their walls, whether formed of polygonal stones, or of regular courses.

and size, not fitted to one another, and the works are full of sepulchral columns, and of wrought stones (from former buildings) united together."

About the middle of the northern wall, or exactly in that part which is most likely to have preserved a part of the work of Themistocles, several wrought stones are observed, which belonged to former buildings. The most conspicuous among them are a range of Doric triglyphs with plain metopes, and some entire courses of masonry, formed of the fragments of Doric columns of proportions corresponding to those of the architraves. Having with some difficulty mounted up to this part of the wall, I found the columns to be partly fluted and partly plain, to have twenty flutings, and that the chord of the fluting (the only dimension which could be measured) was eleven inches and three-tenths. As this was upon a part of the column not likely to be the lowest, it is probable that the columns were very nearly of the same diameter at the base as those of the Parthenon, the flutings of which are 11·68 inches at the base. Such large dimensions could hardly have belonged to any other building than the old Hecatompedum, or temple of Minerva, which was the predecessor of the new Hecatompedum, or Parthenon; and

nothing appears more likely than that Themistocles, in his hasty construction of the fortifications of the citadel, should have made use of the fragments of a temple, which had recently been burnt and overthrown by the Persians, and whose ruins were so conveniently situated for his purpose.

If the information of Hesychius[1] is correct, that the old Hecatompedum was fifty feet shorter than the new, that is to say, that it was about a hundred and seventy-seven feet[2] in length, it is evident, from the size of the columns, that the temple could not have had more than six columns in front: and it is remarkable that a colonnade, consisting of thirteen[3] columns, of the same diameter as those of

[1] Ἑκατόμπεδος νεὼς ἐν τῇ Ἀκροπόλει . . . . μείζων τοῦ ἐμπρησθέντος ὑπὸ τῶν Περσῶν πόσι πεντήκοντα.

Hesych. in Ἑκατόμπεδος.

[2] The length of the Parthenon being two hundred and twenty-eight English feet, and the Greek foot being rather larger than the English. We are told by Harpocration, upon the authority of Menecles or Callistratus, that the Hecatompedum did not receive that name from its dimensions, but from the harmony of its proportions—διὰ κάλλος καὶ εὐρυθμίαν, οὐ διὰ μέγεθος.—Harpocrat. in Ἑκατόμπεδον.

[3] The number 13 is here assumed, because both the Parthenon and Theseium have in their flanks double the number of columns in the fronts *plus* one. It should be observed, however, that all the *more ancient* Doric temples, of which

the Parthenon, with the same intercolumniation, would be just about fifty feet shorter than the long side of the peristyle of the Parthenon.

Pelasgicum. The word Pelasgicum was applied not only to the northern wall, or to a part of the northern wall of the Acropolis, but also to a space of ground below that wall, at the foot of the rocks of the Acropolis. According to the Athenian tradition, it was the portion allotted to the Pelasgi for their place of residence. That it was an inclosed space, and not merely a wall, is proved from the oracle and the law which forbade its being inhabited or cultivated[1], and from its having been allotted, notwithstanding this sacred impediment, as a place of habitation for a part of the multitudes who flocked into Athens

the plans exist, have an even number of columns in the flanks. But, on the other hand, their intercolumniation generally bears a smaller proportion to the diameter of the columns than is found in the Parthenon. It is not improbable, therefore, that the old Hecatompedum had fourteen columns in the sides.

[1] Τό τε Πελασγικὸν καλούμενον τὸ ὑπὸ τὴν Ἀκρόπολιν, ὃ καὶ ἐπαρατόν τε ἦν μὴ οἰκεῖν καί τι καὶ Πυθικοῦ μαντείου ἀκροτελεύτιον τοιόνδε διεκώλυε λέγον ὡς—τὸ Πελασγικὸν ἀργὸν ἄμεινον· ὅμως ὑπὸ τῆς παραχρῆμα ἀνάγκης ἐξῳκίσθη.

Thucyd. l. 2. c. 17.

Πάρεδροι παρεφύλαττον μήτις ἐντὸς τοῦ Πελασγικοῦ κείρει καὶ κατὰ πλέον ἐξορύττει καὶ τῷ Ἄρχοντι παρεδίδοσαν.

Jul. Pollux. l. 8. seg. 102.

at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war. The situation of the Pelasgicum at the foot of the hill is clearly indicated by Thucydides, who calls it the Pelasgicum *under* the Acropolis, as well as by Lucian, who, in his ludicrous dialogue of the Fisherman, represents Parrhesiades sitting upon the top of the wall of the Acropolis, and letting down his hook baited with gold and figs, to angle for philosophers in the Pelasgicum. Upon dragging one of them up he exclaims, "So, I have caught you, my honest friend, feeding deliciously among the rocks, where you hoped to lie hid in safety[1]." Every person acquainted with the Cecropian hill will acknowledge the propriety of Lucian's scenery. It is necessary, therefore, to distinguish the

[1] ΦΙΛ. Τί πράττειν ἀνὴρ διανοεῖται;

ΙΕΡ. Δελεάσας τὸ ἄγκιστρον ἰσχάδι καὶ χρυσίῳ, καθεζόμενος ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον τοῦ τειχίου, καθῆκεν ἐς τὴν πόλιν.

ΦΙΛ. Τί ταῦτα, ὦ Παρρησιάδη ποιεῖς; ἦπου τοὺς λίθους ἁλιεύσειν διέγνωκες ἐκ τοῦ Πελασγικοῦ;

ΠΑΡΡ. Σιώπησον ὦ Φιλοσοφία καὶ τὴν ἄγραν περίμενε.... .. ἄλλ ὁρῶ τινα λάβρακα εὐμεγέθη, μᾶλλον δὲ χρύσοφρυν.

ΕΛΕΓ. Οὐκ· ἀλλὰ γαλεός ἐστι· προσέρχεται δὲ τῷ ἀγκίστρῳ κεχηνώς· ὀσφρᾶται τοῦ χρυσίου—πλήσιον ἤδη ἐστίν—ἔψαυσεν —εἴληπται—ἀνασπάσωμεν.

ΠΑΡΡ. Καὶ σὺ ὦ Ἔλεγχε, νῦν ξυνεπιβαλοῦ τῆς ὁρμιας— ἄνω ἐστί—φέρ' ἴδω τίς εἶ, ὦ βέλτιστε ἰχθύων; κύων οὗτός γε, Ἡράκλεις, τῶν ὀδόντων—τί τοῦτο, ὦ γενναιότατε; εἴληψαι λιχνεύων περὶ τὰς πέτρας, ἔνθα λήσειν ἤλπισας ὑποδεδυκώς, ἀλλὰ νῦν ἔσῃ φανερὸς ἅπασιν, &c.—Lucian. Piscator.

Πελασγικὸν τεῖχος, or wall, which was above the grotto of Pan[1], from the Πελασγικὸν ὑπὸ τὴν Ἀκρόπολιν, which was a space of ground at the foot of the rocks, where that cavern is situated.

By ascertaining the situation of the Eleusinium and Pelasgicum we are furnished with the exact route of the grand procession on the quinquennial festival of the Great Panathenæa, when the new peplus, or embroidered curtain[2], for the

[1] . . . . . τὸν Πᾶνα. . . . . οἰκεῖ μικρὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ Πελασγικοῦ.
Lucian in Bis Accusat.

[2] That the peplus of the Parthenon was not a garment or veil, but an awning or curtain, is proved from Julius Pollux (l. 7. c. 13), who says, Πέπλων δ' ἐστὶ διπλοῦν τὴν χρείαν, ὡς ἐνδῦναι καὶ ἐπιβάλλεσθαι· καὶ ὅτι ἐπίβλημά ἐστι τεκμήραιτ' ἄν τις ἐκ τῶν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς πέπλων. The parapetasma in the temple of Jupiter at Olympia was a curtain let down from the roof to the pavement. Pausanias (Eliac. Prior. c. 12), says, Τοῦτο οὐκ ἐς τὸ ἄνω τὸ παραπέτασμα ὡσπὲρ τῆς Ἀρτεμίδος τῆς Ἐφεσίας ἀνέλκουσι, καλωδίοις δὲ ἐπιχαλῶντες καθιᾶσιν ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος. Judging from the great similarity of the two temples, it seems highly probable that the peplus of the Parthenon was very much like the parapetasma of the temple of Olympia, here described, and that it was a curtain hanging between the statue and the hypæthric part of the chamber, and serving to defend the statue from the dust and moisture which entered through the hypæthrum, at the same time that it added to the sanctity of the goddess, by preventing her from being seen upon every occasional opening of the door, and thus interposing another barrier between her and the vulgar gaze. Πέπλος was probably the Athenian word

use of the Parthenon, was suspended upon a ship, which was impelled along the ground by internal machinery[1], and which, accompanied by all that

for what was elsewhere called Παραπέτασμα, a term of more general import, and applied to every kind of awning. Thus we find that παραπετάσματα, τὰ διὰ τοῦ ἀέρος διατέθεντα, ὅπως τὸν ἥλιον ἀπερύκοι were stretched over the theatre of Nero at Rome.—Dion. Cass. l. 63. c. 7. As Pausanias is obliged to go to Ephesus for an example of an ascending curtain, it is probable that the peplus of the Parthenon was a descending curtain, like that of Olympia.

The peplus was embroidered with the battles of the gods and giants, the warlike actions of Minerva, chariot-races, and the portraits of illustrious Athenians. Eurip. Hecub. v. 461. Plato. Euthryph. p. 6. ed. Serran.—Aristoph. Equit. v. 563. et Schol. ibid.—Plutarch, in Demetr.—Virgil in Ciri.—Suidas in Πέπλος.—Procl. in Timæ. Plat. Comment. 1.—Serv. ad Æneid. 1. In the Euthyphro of Plato, Socrates, after alluding to the contests of the gods, and their battles with the giants, which often formed the subject of pictures in the Athenian temples, adds, ὁ Πέπλος, μεστὸς τῶν τοιούτων ποικιλμάτων ἀνάγεται εἰς τὴν Ἀκρόπολιν.

[1] Παναθηναίων τῶν μεγάλων ἀγομένων, ὅτε τὴν ναῦν Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπὶ γῆς τῇ Ἀθημᾷ πέμπουσι, ἐτύγχανον μὲν ἐφηβεύσων, &c.—Heliod. Æthiop. l. 1. c. 10.

Καὶ σοὶ τὰ μεγάλ' ἡμεῖς Παναθήναι' ἄξομεν.—Aristoph. Pac. v. 417. Schol. . . . . τῇ δὲ Ἀθηνᾷ ἤγοντο διὰ πέντε ἐτῶν, ὅτε καὶ ἡ ναῦς ἐπὶ γῆς πλέει παρ' αὐτοῖς.

Κἀκεῖνα περὶ τῶν Παναθηναίων ἤκουον πέπλον μὲν ἀνῆφθαι τοῦ νεὼς, ἠδίω γραφῆς, σὺν οὐρίῳ τῷ κόλπῳ· δραμεῖν δὲ τὴν ναῦν οὐχ ὑποζυγίων ἀγόντων, ἀλλ' ὑπογείοις (lege ἐπιγείοις) μηχαναῖς ὑπολισθαίνουσαν· ἐκ Κεραμεικοῦ ἄρασαν χιλίᾳ κώπῃ ἀφεῖναι ἐπὶ τὸ Ἐλευσίνιον καὶ περιβαλοῦσαν αὐτὸ παραμεῖψαι τὸ Πε-

was sacred, and honourable, and beautiful in Athens, ascended to the Acropolis, after making a tour of the most distinguished parts of the city. The procession began in the outer Cerameicus[1], and having entered the inner Cerameicus[2], passed by the Hermæ[3], and from thence under the south side of the Acropolis to the Ilissus and Eleusinium: from thence passing near the sanctuary of Apollo Pythius, it approached the northern side of the Acropolis,

λασγικὸν κομιζόμενον παρὰ τὸ Πύθιον, ἐλθεῖν οἵ νῦν ὥρμισται. —Philostrat. in Herod.

[1] This appears from the relation given by Thucydides of the death of Hipparchus, son of Pisistratus. The conspirators chose the occasion of the Great Panathenæa, because it was customary for the citizens on that day to bear arms. Καὶ ὡς ἐπῆλθεν ἡ ἑορτὴ, Ἵππίας μὲν ἔξω ἐν τῷ Κεραμεικῷ καλουμένῳ μετὰ τῶν δορυφόρων διεκόσμει, ὡς ἕκαστα ἐχρῆν τῆς πομπῆς προϊέναι.—Thucyd. l. 6. c. 57.

[2] . . . . . ὁ πέπλος πεμπόμενος διὰ τοῦ Κεραμεικοῦ. . . . . Plutarch. Paral. in Demetr..

Παρὰ Ἀθηναίοις πέπλος τὸ ἄρμενον τῆς Παναθεναϊκῆς νεὼς ἦν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι κατεσκεύαζον τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ διὰ τετραετηρίας, ἧς καὶ τὴν πόμπην διὰ τοῦ Κεραμεικοῦ ἐποίουν μεχρὶ τοῦ Ἐλευσινίου.—Suidas, in Πέπλος.

[3] Athenæus tells us, upon the authority of Hegesander, that one Demetrius, a descendant of Demetrius of Phalerum, and who had been appointed Thesmotheta by king Antigonus, built a scaffold at the Hermæ for his mistress, Aristagora, to see the Panathenaic procession. Τοῖς Παναθηναίοις ἱκρίον ἔστησε πρὸς τοῖς Ἑρμαῖς Ἀριστογόρᾳ, μετεωρότερον τῶν Ἑρμῶν.—Athen. l. 4. c. 19. ed. Casaub.

and passing under the Pelasgicum[1], ascended to the Propylæa. The procession, after having collected in the space between the Propylæa and Parthenon, was divided into two columns, which proceeded eastward along either side of the temple. These having turned to the right and left respectively, upon reaching the angles of the eastern front, met opposite to the eastern door, when the bearer of the peplus and the two arrhephori entered the temple, and delivered their sacred burthens to the archon Basileus and to the priestess of Minerva. Such, at least, appears from the authors cited in the notes, and from the frize of the Parthenon, to have been the progress of this magnificent ceremony.

In his descent from the Propylæa, in the direction of the outer Cerameicus and Academy, Pausanias describes the Grotto of Pan and the Areiopagus, both of which lay nearly in his route, and were the only objects of importance which had not yet been noticed by him. Of the grotto of Pan I have already spoken, and sufficient has also been said of the Areiopagus, to show that the eastern summit of the hill was the situation of the temple of the Furies, as well as of the celebrated court of Areiopagus,

[1] Philostrat. in Herod. ubi supra.

which was nothing more than an open space, having an altar of Minerva Areia upon it, and two seats serving for the accuser and defendant. Near the Areiopagus was the building in which the sacred ship of the Panathenaic festival was deposited.

Having thus finished his description of the city, Pausanias, before he proceeds to the Demi of Attica, devotes several pages[1] to an account of the sepulchral monuments which bordered either side of the road, leading through the Outer Cerameicus to the Academy. There were few objects at Athens more interesting than these memorials of her most illustrious citizens: it may be permitted, therefore, to detain the reader for a few minutes in the contemplation of this compendious display of the past glory of Athens, which still gratified the traveller in the second century of our æra; but nothing of which is now to be seen, except a few fragments and foundations dispersed over an open plain. The first object of importance that occurred beyond Dipylum was a peribolus of Diana, or Hecate[2], containing wooden statues "to the best and fairest of goddesses[3]."

[1] Attic. c. 29.

[2] Hesych. in Καλλίστη.

[3] Ζόανα Ἀρίστης καὶ Καλλίστης· ὡς μὲν ἐγὼ δοκῶ, καὶ

near to which was a small temple of Bacchus[1]. Next occurred the tombs of Thrasybulus, Pericles[2], Chabrias, and Phormio. The space beyond this, on either side of the road to the Academy, was covered with the sepulchres of the Athenians, who had been slain in battle, with the exception only of those who fell at Marathon, and who were buried on the spot. Over each tomb was a stele[3], whereon were commemorated the names and tribes of the deceased.

First was the monument of those who, under Leagrus and Sophones, fell fighting against the

ὁμολογεῖ τὰ ἔπα τὰ Σαπφοῦς, τῆς Ἀρτέμιδός εἰσιν ἐπικλήσεις αὗται.—Pausan. Attic. c. 29.

[1] On stated days the statue of Bacchus Eleutherensis was brought here in procession from the Lenæum. Pausan. ibid. et in c. 20.

[2] The tomb of Pericles was a little to the right of the road from Dipylum to the Academy. Modo etiam paullum ad dextram de viâ declinavi, ut ad Periclis sepulchrum accederem.—Cicer. de Fin. l. 5. c. 2. The tomb of Toxaris, a Scythian physician, was not far from Dipylum, on the left of the road. A low stele was always crowned with garlands, dedicated by those who supposed they had received benefit from their invocations to Toxaris. (Lucian in Scyth.)

[3] The sepulchral στῆλαι, when square, were ornamented with mouldings, and when round, generally terminated in a rounded or peaked top. By a decree of Demetrius Phalereus they were not to be more than three cubits high. Cicer. de Leg. l. 2. c. 26.

Edoni in Thrace[1]; the next stele represented two horsemen fighting: these were Melanopus and Macartatus, who fell in battle against the Lacedæmonians and Bœotians on the confines of the Eleusinian and Tanagræan districts[2]. Next to these lay the Thessalian horsemen and Cretan bowmen, who aided the Athenians when Attica was invaded by the Spartans under Archidamus, in the Peloponnesian war; Cleisthenes, who arranged the Attic tribes[3]; the Athenian horsemen, who fell together with the Thessalians just mentioned; the Cleonæi, who came with the Argives to the assistance of the Athenians[4]; the Athenians who fell in battle with the Æginetæ before the Persian war[5]; the most distinguished of those

[1] In the year B. C. 453. Herodot. l. 9. c. 73.

[2] This appears to have been some skirmish previous to the great battle of Tanagra, in which the Lacedæmonians and Bœotians gained a victory over the Athenians and Argives, B. C. 458. See Herodot. l. 9. c. 34.—Thucyd. l. 1. c. 108.

[3] After the expulsion of the Peisistratidæ, Cleisthenes, leader of the popular party, having obtained the banishment of his rival, Isagoras, increased the Attic tribes, which were then four in number, to ten (Herodot. l. 5. c. 69), the names of which are given by Pausanias, in Attic. c. 5.

[4] In the second sacred war, of which the battle of Tanagra, just mentioned, was the principal action.

[5] See Herodot. l. 6, c. 92.

who were slain in the expedition to Olynthus[1]; Melesander, who commanded a naval expedition upon the river Mæander against Upper Caria[2]; the Athenians who fell in the war with Cassander[3]; the Argives who, in alliance with the Athenians, fought against the Lacedæmonians and Bœotians at Tanagra with good success, until the Thessalians, having betrayed the Athenians, the Lacedæmonians were successful[4]; Apollodorus, the Athenian, who, at the head of a foreign force sent by the satrap of Phrygia, defended Perinthus against Philip[5]; Eubulus, son of Spintharus[6]; those who were

[1] Pausanias seems here to mean what is usually called the battle of Potidæa, which was fought in the Isthmus between Olynthus and Potidæa, in the year preceding the Peloponnesian war, B. C. 432, when Callias, one of the commanders, together with a hundred and fifty Athenians, were slain. See Thucyd. l. 1, c. 62. A fragment of the stele, which records the names of Callias and his companions, was found near the site of the academy, and is now in the Elgin collection in the British Museum. On the marble mention is made of Potidæa, not of Olynthus.

[2] For this unsuccessful expedition in the second year of the Peloponnesian war see Thucyd. l. 2, c. 69.

[3] See Pausan. Attic. c. 25.

[4] The battle of Tanagra, B. C. 458.

[5] B. C. 341. See Diodorus, l. 16, c. 75.

[6] Archon in the year B. C. 345, and a leading man in the party, opposed to Demosthenes.

put to death upon being discovered in a conspiracy against the tyrant Lachares[1]; and those who were equally unfortunate in the attempt against the Macedonian garrison of the Peiræeus; the Athenians who fell at Corinth, whose fate, like that of the Lacedæmonians at Leuctra, where they were beaten by the Bœotians alone, shows that courage without fortune is of little avail[2]. A single stele showed, by the elegies inscribed upon it, that it was erected over those who fell (in the Peloponnesian war) in Eubœa, in Chios, in the extreme parts of Asia, and in Sicily; the Platæenses were inscribed, together with the Athenian soldiers. Of the leaders, Nicias alone was omitted; because he surrendered himself to the enemy,

[1] See Pausan. Attic. c. 25.

[2] The Corinthian war began in the year 394, B. C., and lasted eight years. The action in which the Athenians chiefly suffered was fought at Epieikia, between Corinth and Sicyon, where the Athenians, Argives, Corinthians, and other allies, to the amount of 24,000 hoplitæ, were opposed to 13,500 hoplitæ of the Lacedæmonians and their allies; the force of Lacedæmonians and Athenians on either side being about 6000. See Xenophon (Hell. l. 4, c. 2). The mention of Leuctra, and the reflection which Pausanias makes on this occasion, show that he considered the one action as a set-off against the other in the comparative glory of Sparta and Athens.

and did not act like Demosthenes, who, when he made a treaty of capitulation for his army, excepted himself alone from the number, and attempted his own life. Upon another stele were recorded the names of those who fell (in the same war) in Thrace, and at Megara; the Mantinenses, and Eleians, who quitted the alliance of the Lacedæmonians, and fought under Alcibiades, and those who were victorious over the Syracusans before the arrival of Demosthenes in Sicily. Here also were the sepulchres of those who fell in the naval action at the Hellespont[1]; in the battle against the Macedonians at Chæroneia; in the expedition under Cleon against Amphipolis; at Delium in the Tanagræa; those who marched into Thessaly under Leosthenes[2]; those who sailed with Cimon to Cyprus; and sixteen of those who, under Olympiodorus, ejected the (Macedonian) garrison (from the Museium)[3]. Here also was a monument of the seamen belonging to five triremes, which the Athenians sent to the assistance of the Romans against the Carthaginians; and in the same road was the sepulchre of Tolmides

[1] The battle of Æguspotami.

[2] Pausan. Attic. c. 25. Plutarch, Parall. in Demosth. Diodor. l. 17, c. 111.

[3] Pausan. Attic. c. 25.

and of those who fell with him[1]. Here also lay those who fell in the great exploit under Cimon in the Eurymedon, when he was victorious on the same day both by sea and land. Here likewise were buried Conon and Timotheus, a father and son, whose illustrious actions are exceeded only by those of Miltiades and Cimon; Zeno, the son of Mnaseius; Chrysippus of Soli; Nicias, son of Nicomedes[2], the most skilful painter of animals of his time; Harmodius and Aristogeiton, who slew Hipparchus, son of Peisistratus; and the orators, Ephialtes and Lycurgus, son of Lycophron; the former of whom reformed the laws of the Areiopagus, and the latter of whom collected in the public treasury six thousand five hundred talents more than had been collected by Pericles[3]. For the religious worship of Minerva, Lycurgus furnished vases (πομπεῖα) and golden victories, and

[1] Pausan. Attic. c. 27. Thucyd. l. 1, c. 108, 113.

[2] He refused an offer of sixty talents from Attalus for his picture of the Necromanteia of Homer, and made a present of it to the city. Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 35, c. 11.

[3] But money had fallen to half its value since the time of Pericles, who collected (Thucyd. l. 2, c. 13), 9700 talents. The decree in honour of the family of Lycurgus, at the end of the Lives of the Ten Orators, says that Lycurgus collected 18,900 talents.

dresses for a hundred virgins[1]: for war he provided offensive and defensive arms[2], and increased the navy of Athens to four hundred triremes: and among the public buildings of the Athenians, he finished the theatre[3], which had been begun by others, built houses for containing ships (*νεωσοίκοι*) in Peiræeus, and the Gymnasium[4] in the Lyceium.

[1] These were the virgins who marched in the Panathenaic procession, as we see them represented on the frize of the Parthenon. Some are seen carrying the vases here mentioned in their hands; and it appears probable, from this passage of Pausanias, that if we were in possession of all the frize, together with the metallic ornaments which were attached to it, we should find that the golden victories here mentioned were also carried in the procession. The vases, victories, and dresses were all deposited in the building called the Pompeium. (See p. 2, and Meursius, Attic. Lect. l. 2, c. 15). The vases were of gold or silver, and the victories (as we perceive) of gold, which explains the meaning of Pausanias, in saying, at the end of this account of the works of Lycurgus—*ὅσα μὲν ἀργύρου πεποιημένα ἦν καὶ χρυσοῦ, Λαχάρης καὶ ταῦτα ἐσύλησε τυραννήσας, τὰ δὲ οἰκοδομήματα καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔτι ἦν.* When Lachares carried off the golden shields of the citadel, and plundered the statue of Minerva itself, he did not spare the plate in the Pompeium.

[2] He formed an arsenal of these arms in the Acropolis.—See the decree just mentioned.

[3] *Τὸν Διονυσιακὸν θέατρον*, according to the decree—*τὸ ἐν Διονύσου θέατρον*, in the Life of Lycurgus.

[4] Called a palæstra, by Plato and by the biographer of the

The Academy was surrounded with a wall, built, at a great expense, by Hipparchus[1], and it was planted, divided into walks, and furnished with fountains of water by Cimon[2]. Before the entrance was an altar of Love[3]. Within was a temenus of Minerva, which contained a temple of Prometheus, and in the entrance an altar of Prometheus, whereon were figured, in relief, Vulcan and Prometheus[4]. This altar was the starting-place in the race of the Lampadephoria[5]. There was also a sanctuary of the Muses, built by Xenophon: it contained statues of the Graces, dedicated by his disciple and nephew, Speusippus[6], and a statue of Plato by Silanion, dedicated by Mithradates, a Persian[7]. In the Academy were altars also of Hermes, of Hercules[8], and of Ju-

Ten Orators. Before it stood a column set up by Lycurgus himself, to record his actions.

[1] Suidas in Ἱππάρχου τειχίον.

[2] Plutarch. Paral. in Cimon.

[3] Corresponding to which, adds Pausanias, there was in the city an altar of Anteros.

[4] Apollod. ap. Schol. Sophocl. Œdip. Colon. v. 57.

[5] Pausan. Attic. c. 30.

[6] Diogen. Laert. in Speusip.

[7] Diogen. Laert. in Plat.

[8] Pausan. Attic. c. 30. Pausanias mentions no other objects in the academy than the *altars* of Prometheus, Minerva, the Muses, Hercules, and Hermes, and the old olive-tree.

piter Catæbates, or Morius, the latter epithet being derived from the sacred olives, called Moriæ[1], which grew near the sanctuary of Minerva[2], and the oil from which was the prize in the gymnic contests of the Panathenaic festival[3]. One of these olive trees was said to be a slip from the olive tree of the Erechtheium[4]. The academy contained likewise the garden of Attalus, where the sophist Lacydes had his school[5], a Κόθρος, or tank[6], and plane trees thirty-six cubits high[7]. Near the Academy were the tomb of Plato and the tower of Timon[8].

[1] Ἀλλ' εἰς Ἀκαδημίαν κατιὼν ὑπὸ ταῖς Μορίαις ἀποθρέξεις.— Aristoph. Nub. v. 1001.

[2] Apollod. ap. Schol. Sophocl. Œdip. Colon. v. 737.

[3] Aristot. ap. Schol. Sophocl. Œdip. Col. v. 730. Schol. Aristoph. in Nub. v. 1001. Suidas in Μορίαι.

[4] Pausan. Attic. c. 30. Istrus ap. Schol. Sophocl. ibid.

[5] Diogen. Laert. in Lacyd.

[6] Heliod. Æthiop. l. 1, c. 17.

[7] Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 12, c. 1.

[8] Pausan. Attic. c. 30.

SECTION IX.

Of Peiræeus, Munychia, and Phalerum—Of the Long Walls and other Fortifications of the City.

THE singularity and the local advantages of the site of Athens consist not more in its natural fortress, the Acropolis, than in the peculiar formation of its sea-coast. While the Cecropian hill, by giving protection to the early cultivators of the plain against invaders, was the primary cause of the importance of Athens among the states of Greece; the indented coast and land-locked harbours were the origin of that extensive commerce and dominion over the Grecian seas which Athens so long retained. The security of the Athenian harbours, whose different capacities were so well suited to the several stages of the naval power of Athens, conspired with the peninsular form of the province, with its position relatively to the surrounding coasts of Greece and Asia, with the richness of the Attic silver-mines, and even with the general poverty of the Attic soil, to produce a combination of circumstances the best adapted to encourage the development of commercial industry, and of nautical skill and enterprise.

Strabo[1] has left us the following description of the maritime quarters of Athens:

"Above the shore (of the strait of Salamis) is the mountain Corydalus and the demus Corydalenses, the port Phoron, and the small uninhabited rocky islands, Psyttalia and Atalante. Then occurs Peiræeus, which, as well as Munychia, is reckoned among the demi.

"Munychia is a peninsula connected by a narrow isthmus with the mainland. It is full of natural hollows and artificial excavations, so as to be well suited to the reception of dwelling-houses. Below it are three harbours. Formerly Munychia resembled the city of the Rhodii, being well inhabited in every part, and surrounded by a wall, which comprehended, within the same inclosure, Peiræeus, and the ports full of naval arsenals, among which was the armory of Philo[2]. The harbours were sufficiently capacious to afford anchorage to four hundred ships; for the Athenian navy consisted of no fewer. These fortifications were joined to

[1] Page 395.

[2] According to Pliny (Hist. Nat. l. 7. c. 37.) the armory was calculated for a thousand ships. Philo was an orator (Cicero de Oratore, l. 1. c. 14.) as well as an architect, and he wrote a treatise upon his celebrated work in the Peiræeus, and another upon the symmetry of temples (Vitruv. in Præf. l. 7). The armory of Philo was destroyed by Sylla. (Appian. de Bel. Mithridat. c. 41.)

the Σκέλη, or Long Walls, which were forty stades in length, and united the Peiræeus to the city. But in the course of the many wars in which Athens has been engaged, the walls both of Peiræeus and Munychia have been thrown down, and the Peiræeus has been reduced to a small village, situated around the ports and the temple of Jupiter Soter, in the open court (ὕπαιθρον) of which are still seen some statues, and in its portico some admirable pictures, the works of celebrated artists. The Long Walls were ruined by the Lacedæmonians, and again by the Romans, when Sylla besieged and took both the Peiræeus and the city. The city (Ἄστυ) itself consists of habitations surrounding a rock in the plain. Upon the top of the rock is the temple of Minerva, &c. In the shore adjacent to Peiræeus is the demus of the Phalerenses: then the Halimusii, Æxonenses, &c. These are the names of the demi which border the coast as far as the promontory Sunium."

Pausanias[1] describes the maritime demi and ports of Athens in the following terms:

"The Peiræeus was a demus from the earliest times; but it was not until Themistocles administered the affairs of the Athenians that it was made a port for ships. Before that time the

[1] Attic. c. 1.

harbour of Athens was at Phalerum, where the sea shore is nearest to the city. It was from Phalerum that Menestheus set sail for Troy; and still more anciently Theseus, when he went to satisfy the vengeance of Minos for the death of Androgeus[1]. But Themistocles, when he held the government, perceiving that the harbour of Peiræeus was more commodiously situated for navigation, and that it possessed three ports[2], instead of the one at Phalerum, formed it into a receptacle for ships: and to the present time there remain the buildings for receiving the ships (νεὼς οἶκοι) and the sepulchre of Themistocles on the shore of the largest of the three ports; for it is said that the Athenians repented of their conduct to Themistocles, and that his bones were brought by his descendants from Magnesia."

"The most remarkable object in Peiræeus is

[1] The story was, that Androgeus, son of Minos, having been slain by the Marathonian bull, Minos, who thought that his son had perished by the malice of the Athenians, harassed them with his fleets until they agreed to a yearly tribute of seven youths and seven virgins, to be exposed to the Minotaur in the Labyrinth. Theseus sailed to Crete as one of the victims, destroyed the Minotaur, and made peace with Minos (Pausanias, ibid.).

[2] Θεμιστοκλῆς..... νομίζων τό τε χώριον καλὸν εἶναι, λιμένας ἔχον τρεῖς αὐτοφυεῖς. Thucyd. l. 1, c. 93.—Heysch. in Ζέα.—Schol. Aristoph. in Pac. v. 144.—Corn. Nep. in Themist. c. 6.

the temenus of Minerva and Jupiter, containing brazen statues of the two deities, the Jupiter having in his hands a sceptre and a victory, and the Minerva a spear[1]. Here also is a picture by Arcesilaus of Leosthenes[2] and his

[1] There can be no doubt that this temenus, or inclosure sacred to Jupiter and Minerva, was the same as the ἱερὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Σωτῆρος, or sanctuary of Jupiter Soter, noticed by Strabo and by Pliny (l. 34, c. 8). The latter describes the statue of Minerva and the altar of Jupiter in the following terms: "Cephisidorus, Minervam mirabilem in portu Atheniensium et aram ad templum Jovis Servatoris in eodem portu, quibus pauca comparantur." The artist's name, however, was not Cephisidorus, but Cephisodotus, who was the author likewise of the Statue of Peace bearing Plutus, in the Cerameicus (Pausan. Bœot. c. 16), of several of the muses in Mount Helicon (Pausan. Bœot. c. 30), and who was the joint artist of the statues in the temple of Jupiter Soter at Megalopolis (Pausan. Arcad. c. 30). The altar of Jupiter in Peiræeus was raised by Demosthenes, in commutation of his fine of thirty talents (Plutarch in Demosth.) There appears also to have been an altar of Jupiter Ctesius in the Peiræeus. Antipho. in Noverc. p. 612, 614. Reiske.

[2] When the Athenians were meditating a war with Macedonia, Leosthenes sailed to Asia with the Athenian fleet, and conveyed to Greece the Greek mercenaries of the Persian satraps whom Alexander wished to detain in Asia. In the Lamiac war, which broke out on the death of Alexander, Leosthenes commanded the Athenians, and gained two victories; one at Platæa over the combined forces of the Macedonians and Bœotians; the other at Thermopylæ over Antipater. The Macedonians were then shut up and besieged in Lamia, and Leosthenes fell in the siege.—Pausan. Attic. c. 25. Arcad. c. 52. Diodor. Sic. l. 18, c. 11, &c.

children. The Macra Stoa, (long portico), serves as an agora for those who live near the sea: but there is another agora, for such as live at a distance from the shore[1]. Behind the Macra Stoa is a statue of Jupiter, and another of the people, which is the work of Leochares. On the sea-side is a temple of Venus[2], built by Conon, after his victory over the Lacedæmonian triremes, near Cnidus in the Carian Chersonese: for the Cnidii particularly worship Venus, and have three temples of the goddess."

"The Athenians have another port called Munychia, where is a temple of Diana Munychia. There is a third harbour at Phalerum, where is

[1] This agora was surnamed Hippodameia, or Hippodameius. It is mentioned by Xenophon (Hell. 2. c. 4), by Demosthenes (in Timoth. p. 1190. Reiske), and by Andocides (de Myster. p. 23). It was named after Hippodamus, of Miletus, the architect employed by Themistocles to fortify the Peiræeus, and to lay out the new streets, both of Athens and Peiræeus. Aristot. de Repub. l. 2. c. 8.—Schol. in Aristoph. Equit. v. 327.—Harpocrat. in Ἱπποδαμεῖα.—Hesych. in Ἱπποδάμου νέμησις.

[2] It appears that there was another sanctuary of Venus, surnamed Aparchus, in the Peiræeus, built by Themistocles after the battle of Salamis, in consequence of a dove having perched upon his galley during the action.—Καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς περιστερᾶς ὅτι ἐπὶ Θεμιστοκλέους τριήρους ἐφάνη καθεζομένη, ὅθεν δὲ μετὰ τὴν νίκην Ἀπάρχου Ἀφροδίτης ἱερὸν ἱδρύσατο ἐν Πειραιεῖ, ὡς Ἀμμώνιος ὁ Λαμπρεὺς ἐν τῷ περὶ ζωμῶν.—Schol. Hermogen. Περὶ ἰδεῶν in cap. Περὶ γλυκύτητος.

a sanctuary of Ceres[1], a temple of Minerva Sciras, and, somewhat farther from the port, a temple of Jupiter. Here are likewise altars sacred to the gods, called the Unknown[2], to the heroes, the sons of Theseus[3], to the hero

[1] In his Phocics (c. 35.) Pausanias informs us, that this sanctuary was a ναὸς, and that, like a temple of Juno in the Phaleric road, it had remained ruinous and half burnt from the time of the Persian invasion.

[2] For the Unknown Gods at Athens see also Philost. in Apollon. Tyan. l. 6, c. 2.—Lucian. in Philopat. It was upon the occasion of a plague in the 40th Olympiad that the Athenians were advised by Epimenides to propitiate the Unknown Deities; lest some one of them should be offended by omission (Diogen. Laert. in Epimen.—Joan. Chrysost. Homil. 38, in Act. Apost.). Βῶμοι ἀνώνυμοι thenceforward became common among the demi. Diogenes Laertius says, that Epimenides himself came to Athens to establish this worship, and that he sacrificed upon the Areiopagus. It is probable, therefore, that an altar, τῷ ἀγνώστῳ θεῷ, continued to stand upon the Areiopagus from that time until it became the occasion of St. Paul's address to the Athenians (Act. Apost. c. 17). Pausanias, however, who visited Athens a century after St. Paul, no longer found there any altar to the Unknown God, or at least he has omitted to notice it. The altar at Phalerum differed from that on the Areiopagus by being dedicated to the unknown Deities in the plural.

[3] Their names were Nausithous and Phæax (Plutarch in Thes.) Plutarch adds, that their monuments were near the temple of Minerva Sciras, which he calls the temple of Sciron. The name was derived from its founder, Scirus, a Dodonæan prophet, who came to Athens in the reign of Erechtheus the Second (Pausan. Attic. c. 36).

Phalerus, who is reported by the Athenians to have sailed to Chalcis with Jason, and to Androgeus, son of Minos, who is worshipped under the name of the Hero[1].

"Twenty stades from Phalerum is the promontory Colias, where the fleet of the Medes was driven by the waves after its destruction" (at Salamis).

To the reader who has attentively perused the preceding descriptions of maritime Athens, it would be a loss of time to bring forward any further arguments to prove that the demus of Peiræeus was adjacent, and gave name to the larger of the three Athenian ports; that Pha-

[1] Phalerum contained also the sepulchral monument of Aristides (Demetr. Phaler. ap. Plutarch in Aristid.), and a fountain of brackish water, supposed to be the same as the Clepsydra of the city (see p. 66). When the harbour of Phalerum had ceased to be of much importance to the Athenians, the place was chiefly celebrated for its marshy ground (Xenoph. in Œconom. c. 19); for its cabbages (Hesych. in Φαληρικαί), which probably grew in the neighbouring part of the plain; and for its fish, particularly *aphyæ* (Athen. et Archestrat. ap. Athen. l. 7. c. 8.—Aristoph. Acharn. v. 901.—Av. v. 76.—Aristot. Hist. Anim. l. 6, c. 15.—Jul. Pollux. l. 6, c. 10). Diogenes Laertius (in Procem.) says, that the sepulchral monument of Musæus was at Phalerum; with an epigram upon it, which he has recorded; but this is in contradiction with Pausanias (Attic. c. 25), and with the name of the hill Museium, in the city, where the philosopher was reported to have been buried.

lerum, being the easternmost of the three demi, and the nearest to the city[1], must have bordered the small oval basin, now known by the name of Porto Fanári, and consequently that the port of Munychia was the circular harbour, now called Stratiotikí.

It would be difficult to ascertain the exact extent and boundaries of the respective demi; nor is it of much importance, as we know, that in the most flourishing times of the Athenian republic, the three demi formed a continued town, which was more extensive than Athens itself[2]. The demus of Munychia not only comprised the borders of port Munychia, where we still find remains of the temple of Diana Munychia, and of the Munychian theatre; but it appears from Strabo to have comprehended likewise the whole peninsula lying beyond the isthmus of port Munychia towards the open

[1] In the Arcadics (c. 10) Pausanias makes the sea-shore near Phalerum to be no more than twenty stades from the city. But this is evidently erroneous; for the Phaleric long wall being, as Thucydides (l. 2, c. 13) has correctly stated, thirty-five stades in length, the distance between the north-east angle of the *bay* of Phalerum, and the city wall near the monument of Philopappus, which were the two nearest points, could not have been less than twenty-six stades.

[2] Thucyd. l. 2, c. 13.—Strabo, p. 395. Of the relative dimensions of Athens and the maritime city, see below.

sea. Such being the extent of Munychia, the demus of Peiræeus must have bordered all the western and northern side of the great harbour, as far as the Munychian isthmus; its central and most frequented part being naturally at the head of the harbour, about the modern custom-house and convent, at the foot of the height, on the side of which we still find the remains of the Peiraic theatre mentioned by Xenophon[1]. The Phaleric demus occupied the eastern slope of the same height, and the ground around Port Phalerum.

The harbour of Peiræeus, although subject to some inconveniences, from the difficulty which ships occasionally experience in entering and sailing out, is still an excellent port for vessels as large as frigates. It is known to the Greeks by the name of Dhráko (Δράκων[2]); to the Turks by that of Aslán Limáni; and to the Italians by that of Porto Leone: all names derived from a colossal lion of white marble, which stood

[1] L. 2, c. 4.

[2] Δράκων is one of those words, which, in the course of the corruption of the Greek language, have been converted from specifics into generics, or from particular objects to all objects possessing similar qualities. Thus δράκων, instead of meaning, as among the ancients, a serpent only, is now applicable to a monster of any kind, and was thus applied to the marble lion of the Peiræeus.

upon the beach until the year 1687, when Athens having been taken by the Venetians, it was removed, together with another large lion found in the plain of Athens, and a third smaller, and was placed at the gate of the arsenal of Venice. It was conveyed to Paris by the conquerors of Italy in the year 1797, but has recently been restored to Venice, and by some future revolution in the European system may perhaps be replaced in its original station at the Peiræeus.

It has been seen that anciently the Peiræeus was subdivided into three harbours. Thus the ports of Athens amounted in all to five, besides Port Phoron, at the foot of Mount Corydalus, and the *bay* of Phalerum, which, covered as it is on the one side by the Peiraic peninsula[1], and on the other by Cape Colias, affords tolerable shelter at either end.

Although the natural division of the Peiræeus into three harbours had caused Themistocles to recommend its use to the Athenians, it was not

[1] As the ancients often applied the word Peiræeus to the whole of maritime Athens, the term Peiraic peninsula may serve to describe the entire peninsula formed by the isthmus lying between the north-west angle of the bay of Phalerum and the head of Port Peiræeus, and the exterior peninsula, formed by the isthmus lying between Ports Munychia and Peiræeus, may be called the Munychian peninsula.

until the second year of the Peloponnesian war, when maritime Athens was in danger of being surprised by the enemy's fleet, that the Athenians saw the necessity of fortifying the Peiræeus in the manner customary among the Greeks[1]. The three ports of Peiræeus then became closed harbours (κλειστοὶ λιμένες[2]), as Mu-

[1] Thucyd. l. 2, c. 93, 94.

[2] κλειστοὶ λιμένες. This expression, which often occurs in ancient history, is illustrated by many examples in the ruins of the maritime cities of Greece. Their harbours were generally small land-locked basins, such as the coasts of Greece particularly abound in, and they were inclosed, as Strabo has described the Athenian ports, within the circuit of the town walls; that is to say, that the city walls, being carried down to either side of the harbour's mouth, were prolonged from thence across the mouth upon shoals, or artificial moles, until a passage only was left in the middle for two or three triremes abreast between two towers, the opening of which might be further protected by a chain. When the shore did not naturally afford sufficient shelter, the port was sometimes completed artificially, by means of moles. It was at Athens and Ægina, the two chief maritime states on the eastern coast of Greece, that nature and art had particularly combined in the formation of *closed ports*; for we still trace the remains of five at Athens and of three at Ægina.

This kind of harbour was not out of use in the Levant seas, as long as the Armata Sottile, as the Venetians called that part of their navy which consisted of gallies and galliots, continued to be an object of importance among them, and to have opponents of the same kind among the Turks, and among the other naval powers of the Mediterranean,

nychia and Phalerum had probably long before been made.

The traces of the works which closed the three ports of Peiræeus being still perfectly apparent, its three divisions are exactly determined. The entrance of the outer port is marked by an insulated rock, lying towards the eastern shore: this port extended inwards as far as two reefs, which, projecting from either shore, form a second narrow passage, now indicated by two small masses of modern masonry. Anciently the reefs afforded a foundation to two projecting walls, the opening between which was the communication from the outer to the middle port. The middle port was by much the largest of the three: it contained all the portion of the Peiræeus now in use, and extended as far as the shore at the modern custom-house and convent of St. Spyridion, leaving on the north side a third narrow entrance, leading into a circular basin. The regular form of this basin and the walls, which, with the exception of an opening in the middle, were carried across the entrance, so as to form the continuation of a part of the fortifications of maritime Athens, furnish undoubted

where the narrow seas, the intricate and rocky coasts, the numerous small ports, the sudden changes of weather, and the frequent calms, are all in favour of vessels which draw little water, and depend chiefly upon oars for their swiftness.

proofs that this was one of the three Peiraic ports, although neglect, its low situation, and the alluvial depositions of a small stream running into it, have now rendered it a mere lagoon, unfit even to receive the small vessels in use among the modern Greeks.

The three subdivisions of Port Peiræeus were named, Cantharus, Aphrodisium[1], and Zea[2]; but although we are furnished with their names, and although the remains of the ancient works give us their exact limits, it is still very difficult to distinguish to which of the three ports each of these ancient names belonged. If Aphrodisium received its name from the two temples built in Peiræeus by Themistocles and Conon, the middle or great port must have been Aphrodisium; for, as I have already remarked, there can be little doubt that the central part of the demus of Peiræeus, where, according to Pau-

[1] Ἐν Πειραιεῖ δὴ πούστὶ Κανθάρου λίμην.—Aristoph. in Pac. v. 144. Schol. Πειραιεὺς λιμένας τρεῖς ἔχει, πάντας κλειστούς. Εἷς μὲν, ὁ Κανθάρου λιμήν· οὕτω καλούμενος ἀπό τινος ἡρώου Κανθάρου· ἐν ᾧ τὰ νεώρια· εἶτα τὸ Ἀφροδίσιον· εἶτα κύκλῳ τοῦ λιμένος στόαι πέντε.

.....ἐν Κανθάρῳ λιμένι.—Plutarch, Paral. in Phocion. Κάνθαρον, λιμὴν οὕτω καλεῖται ἐν Πειραιεῖ.—Hesych. in Κανθ. Κάνθαρος· τὸ ζῶον· καὶ ὄνομα λιμένος Ἀθήνησι.—Suidas in Κανθ.

[2] Ζέα, ἡ Ἑκάτη παρὰ Ἀθηναίοις καὶ εἷς τῶν ἐν Πειραιεῖ λιμένων, οὕτω καλούμενος ἀπὸ τοῦ καρποῦ τῆς ζειᾶς· ἔχει δὲ ὁ Πειραιεὺς λιμένας τρεῖς κλειστούς.—Hesych. in Ζέα.

sanias, stood upon the shore the Macra Stoa and temple of Venus, was at the head of the great harbour towards the modern custom-house and convent.

If the middle or great harbour was Aphrodisium, it is probable that the inner basin was Cantharus, and the outer port Zea. Cantharus was the harbour which contained the buildings for the repair and preservation of the Athenian ships of war[1], and it is consistent with reason and experience to suppose that such works were in the most sheltered and retired part of the harbour. Zea, on the other hand, having taken its name from being the port destined for the reception of the ships which supplied Athens with corn, and which navigated to the Black Sea, and other distant regions, was probably the exterior division of the harbour; where those vessels, being the largest and strongest which the Athenians possessed, might find sufficient protection from the weather.

On one side of the entrance into the harbour of Peiræeus was the promontory Alcimus[2], on

[1] Schol. Aristoph. in Pac. ubi supra.

[2] Περὶ τὸν λιμένα τοῦ Πειραιῶς, ἀπὸ τοῦ κατὰ τὸν Ἄλκιμον πρόκειταί τις οἷος ἀγκών: καὶ κάμψαντι τοῦτον ἐντὸς, ἢ τὸ ὑπεύδιον τῆς θαλάττης, κρηπίς ἐστιν εὐμεγέθης καὶ τὸ περὶ αὐτὸν ζωμοειδὲς τάφος τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους.—Plutarch. Paral. in Themist.

the other Eetioneia[1]. Eetioneia is described by Thucydides as a cape, which sheltered the opening of port Peiræeus from the outer sea, and commanded the entrance into the harbour. In the twenty-first year of the Peloponnesian war, when the Athenian fleet and army, under Thrasybulus and Alcibiades, were at Samus, and when the Four Hundred were in possession of the government of Athens, the latter built a fortress upon this promontory, with a view of preventing the entrance of their own fleet, which was adverse to them, or even with that of se-

[1] .... ᾠκοδόμουν.... τὸ ἐν τῇ Ἠετιωνείᾳ τεῖχος.... χηλὴ γάρ ἐστι τοῦ Πειραιῶς ἡ Ἠετιώνεια καὶ παρ' αὐτὴν εὐθὺς ἡ ἔσπλους ἐστίν· ἐτειχίζετο οὖν οὕτω ξὺν τῷ πρότερον πρὸς ἤπειρον ἱπάρχοντι τείχει, ὥστε, καθεζομένων ἐς αὐτὸν ἀνθρώπων ὀλίγων, ἄρχειν τοῦ γε ἔσπλου· ἐπ' αὐτὸν γὰρ ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι τοῦ λιμένος, στενοῦ ὄντος, τὸν ἕτερον πύργον ἐτελεύτα· τό τε παλαιὸν τὸ πρὸς ἤπειρον καὶ τὸ καινὸν τὸ ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχους, τειχιζόμενον πρὸς θάλασσαν· διωκοδόμησαν δὲ καὶ στοὰν, ἥπερ ἦν μεγίστη καὶ ἐγγύτατα τούτου, εὐθὺς ἐχομένη ἐν τῷ Πειραιεῖ, καὶ ἦρχον αὐτοὶ αὐτῆς, ἐς ἣν καὶ τὸν σῖτον ἠνάγκαζον πάντας τὸν ὑπάρχοντά τε καὶ τὸν ἐπιπλέοντα ἐξαιρεῖσθαι καὶ τὸν ἐντεῦθεν προαιροῦντας πωλεῖν.—Thucyd. l. 8. c. 90.

Ἠετιωνεία. Ἀντιφῶν ἐν τῷ περὶ τῆς μεταστάσεως—οὕτως ἐκαλεῖτο, ἥ γε παρὰ τοῦ Πειραιέως ἄκρα ἀπὸ τοῦ καταστησαμένου τὴν γῆν Ἠετίωνος, ὥς φησι Φιλόχορος ἐν τῇ πρὸς Δήμωνα ἀντιγραφῇ· μνημονεύει δὲ τῆς Ἠετιωνείας καὶ Θουκυδίδης ἐν ὀγδόῃ.—Harpocrat. in Ἠετιωνεία.

See also Demosth. adv. Theocrin. p. 1343, Reiske.—Suidas and Stephanus in Ἠετιωνεία.

curing the admission of the Peloponnesian fleet, rather than resign their power[1]. It appears from the description of Thucydides, that their works were chiefly towards the sea, but that they were connected, towards the main land, with the old Peiraic fortifications.

As this description cannot apply to the southern shore of the entrance of Peiræeus, which was all a part of Munychia, and which, from its peninsular form, and from its situation within the demi of Phalerum and Peiræeus, could not have had any walls towards the main land (πρὸς ἤπειρον), it is obvious that Eetioneia must have been the projecting part of the coast, which runs westward from the north side of the entrance into the Peiræeus.

Thucydides adds, that adjoining to their fortress the Four Hundred built a large stoa within the Peiraic harbour, where they obliged all persons to deposit their corn, as well that which was already in port as that which was daily arriving by sea. Thus it seems that the place where the stoa was erected was upon the shore on the north side of port Zea; probably in the usual place of unloading and depositing grain; which, by this decree of the Four Hundred,

[1] Thucyd. l. 8, c. 91, 92.—Demosth. adv. Theocrin. ubi supra.

was transferred from private magazines into the new stoa, where the proprietors were obliged to sell it.

The expressions of Thucydides, therefore, are in some measure a confirmation of Zea having been the outer division of the Peiraic harbour. We need not be surprised that Thucydides has not specified it by the appellation of Zea, as he has not named any of the three divisions, but has included them all under the general denomination of Peiræeus.

Eetioneia having been on the northern side of the entrance from the open sea into the Peiraic harbours, it follows that Alcimus was on the opposite side; that is to say, that it was the western cape of the Munychian peninsula. Near Alcimus, says Plutarch, upon the authority of the geographer Diodorus, was an elbow of the coast, which kept the sea within it generally smooth: here, on the shore[1], was the tomb of Themistocles, consisting of a large basis, with a monument upon it resembling an altar. Although the most obvious inference from these words is, that the monument was within the harbour, of which Cape Alcimus forms the outer point, it seems possible also that a point to the southward of the cape may have been meant by the projecting elbow.

[1] Its situation *on the shore* is confirmed by Plato, the comic poet, (Plutarch ibid.)

Pausanias, however, has decided the question beyond any doubt, and has shown that the tomb of Themistocles must have been to the north-eastward of Cape Alcimus, on the shore of the middle port; for, in speaking of the three ports into which Peiræeus was divided, he expressly says that the monument of Themistocles was on the shore of the largest harbour (πρὸς τῷ μεγίστῳ λιμένι). There is no other mode, therefore, of reconciling the two authorities, than by supposing that the elbow mentioned by Plutarch was the cape, which terminating in a mole, formed one side of the entrance from port Zea into port Aphrodisium, and consequently that the sepulchre of Themistocles was within this point at the southern extremity of port Aphrodisium.

It has generally been supposed that the tomb of Themistocles was upon a part of cape Alcimus, where are still seen some sarcophagi hewn out of the rock, with an inclosure, or sort of outer sarcophagus also hewn out of the rock, for the purpose of protecting the interior coffin from the surf, to which this part of the coast is exposed. One of these double sarcophagi, near which is a fallen *stele*, or short sepulchral column of the usual form, has been generally pointed out to travellers as the tomb of Themistocles, and one of the reasons given for the supposition is, that the situation faces the scene of the battle of

Salamis, the most glorious event in the life of the great Athenian. Independently, however, of the proof already given from Pausanias, that the monument was in Port Aphrodisium, it appears from the same author, that the posthumous honours bestowed upon Themistocles, by the Athenians, had reference, not so much to the battle of Salamis as to his having been the fortifier and improver of the Peiræeus. It must be observed, also, that the fallen sepulchral stele upon Cape Alcimus does not correspond very well to the altar-shaped monument (βωμοειδὲς τάφος), and that there are many other sarcophagi hewn in the rocks of the Munychian peninsula, and remains of other monuments along the shore, both to the west and east of the entrance of Peiræeus. Among these there is one upon the shore to the westward, about midway between the entrance of Port Dhráko, and of a small creek called Trapezóna, which is much more conspicuous than the monument upon Cape Alcimus, having a broad base, or κρηπὶς, with the fragments lying beside it, of a large fallen stele, which once stood upon the base. All these monuments I take to have been raised in honour of distinguished seamen, or of wealthy inhabitants of maritime Athens, for whose sepulchres these conspicuous situations upon the sea-side may have been chosen by themselves or descendants.

Upon the whole, it is to be feared that the topographer, who examines the locality with the testimony of the ancient authors before him, will find himself obliged to give up the agreeable illusion, that any remains of the tomb of Themistocles are now in existence. Indeed, it is almost evident from the silence of Pausanias, and from the manner in which Plutarch refers to other authors upon the subject, that no remains of the tomb existed even in their time.

The following were the public buildings which adorned the maritime quarters of Athens:—At the Peiræeus, besides the Macra Stoa, the two temples of Venus, the sanctuary of Jupiter Soter, and the Agora Hippodameia, were the Deigma, or exchange, for the exhibition of goods, and transaction of mercantile business[1], the Phreattys, one of the Athenian tribunals[2]; the bath, called Serangium[3]; and the thea-

[1] Schol. in Aristoph. Equit. v. 975.—Xenoph. Hellen. l. 5. c. 1.—Polyæn. Strateg. l. 6. c. 2.—Lysias Orat. adv. Tisid. ap. Dionys. Halicarn. Rhet. p. 986, ed. Reiske.—Harpocrat. in Δεῖγμα. The Deigma was perhaps one of the five porticos which formed the Macra Stoa.

[2] Demosth. cont. Aristocr. p. 645, 646, Reiske.—Pausan. Attic. c. 28.—Jul. Pollux. l. 8. c. 10.—Excerpt. Hellad. ap. Phot. Biblioth. p. 1594.

[3] Isæus Orat. de Philoctem. Hæred. p. 140, Reiske.—Harpocrat. Suid. et Hesych. in Σηράγγιον.

tre[1]. Of these we have already seen that the Macra Stoa and the temples of Venus were on the sea-shore. The Phreattys also was in the same situation; for in this court, while the judges were seated on shore, the accused were in a ship drawn up over against them[2]. From the destination of the Deigma, it may be presumed that it was a part of the maritime Agora or Macra Stoa. As to the temple of Jupiter, the words both of Strabo and Pausanias[3] seem to favour the supposition that it was not on the sea-shore, but in the interior of the demus. The

[1] Xenoph. Hellen. l. 2. c. 4. Mention is also made of this theatre upon two ancient marbles, brought from Greece for the society of Dilettanti, by Dr. Chandler, and presented by the society to the British Museum. See a copy of the inscriptions in Chandler's Inscriptiones Antiquæ, p. 72, 74. It appears from another inscription (No. 110. p. 75), that there was a temenus of Theseus in or near some part of the maritime demi, to which belonged lands and woods.

[2] . . . . . τόπον τινὰ ἐν Φρεαττοῖ καλούμενον ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ, εἶθ' ὁ μὲν ἐν πλοίῳ προσπλεύσας λέγει, τῆς γῆς οὐχ' ἅπτόμενος· οἱ δ' ἀκροῶνται καὶ δικάζουσιν ἐν τῇ γῇ.—Demosth. cont. Aristocr. ubi supra.

The other authors cited in note 2 of the preceding page mention also the same singular custom.

[3] Strabo, by saying that in his time there were no buildings in maritime Athens except around the ports, *and* around the temple of Jupiter Soter; and Pausanias, by remarking, that the temple of Venus and the Macra Stoa were near the sea, and by stating only in regard to the temple of Jupiter Soter, that it was in Peiræeus.

Macra Stoa, therefore, which, according to the scholiast of Aristophanes, consisted of five porticos[1], probably occupied, including the Deigma, Phreattys, and temple of Venus, the whole shore of the great port from Cantharus to the Munychian isthmus, or perhaps even as far as the situation near the opening into Port Zea, where I have supposed the monument of Themistocles to have stood. As Christian saints have so often occupied the places of the pagan deities of Greece, nothing appears more probable than that the convent of St. Spiridion should stand upon the site of one, or perhaps of both the temples of Venus.

I am inclined to think that no part of the western side of the great harbour was occupied by any of the buildings just mentioned, but that it was destined to the arsenals and storehouses of the Athenian fleet, including the celebrated armory of Philo. It is obvious that a large portion of the shore of Peiræeus must have been applied to these objects, and no situation could be so well adapted to them as the western side of the harbour, especially if the inner basin was (as I have supposed) the

[1] One of these was probably the Στόα Ἀλφιτόπωλις, or portico for the sale of corn, erected by Pericles, which the Scholiast (in Aristoph. Acharn. v. 547.) says was περὶ τὸν Πειραια.

port destined to the construction and repair of the Athenian gallies. The western side of the harbour from Cantharus to Zea had the advantages of being separated from the *town* of maritime Athens by Port Cantharus; of being adjacent to the ships of war in that port; and by being situated a little seaward of Cantharus, it was conveniently placed to facilitate the completion of the equipment of the ships when they had come out of that port. The ground which I suppose to have been destined to these warlike establishments forms a triangle, having an obtuse angle at the summit of the hill, which rises from the water-side. The long side of the triangle comprised the entire western shore of Aphrodisium from Cantharus to Zea, and the other two sides were inclosed by two walls, one of which terminated at the entrance from the open sea into Port Zea, and the other was a prolongation of the wall which was carried across the entrance of Port Cantharus. At the obtuse angle, where the two walls met, was a magnificent entrance into this triangular space between two round towers. Of these walls and round towers, and of a ditch cut in the rock, which formed a part of their external defence, the remains are still in existence.

It has already been remarked, that the ruins of the theatre of Peiræeus, which, when complete, may have been about two hundred and

forty feet in diameter, are to be seen on the side of the hill which rises from the north-eastern extremity of Port Aphrodisium.

The Hippodameia, or agora of Peiræeus, for the use of those whose business did not relate to maritime commerce, was probably situated near the entrance into the demus from the country, which must have been the same as the entrance into Peiræeus by the great hamaxitus, or carriage-road, leading from the Inner Cerameicus, through the plain, parallel to the northern long wall. The modern road from Dhrako to Athens, therefore, traverses the site of the Hippodameia, and nothing can be more probable than the conjecture of Chandler, that some ancient foundations seen to the right of the road, at the foot of the hill of Peiræeus, belonged to a part of this agora. Of the other magnificent buildings which once adorned the demus of Peiræeus, and the shores of the great harbour, nothing is now to be seen but a few sculptured fragments in the convent and adjoining fields, together with many scattered foundations in various parts of the site of the demus.

In the demus of Munychia, the only buildings of which history has left us any information are the temple of Diana Munychia, the Bendideium, and the Theatre.

The temple of Diana appears from Pausanias

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to have been on the shore of Port Munychia; and here, accordingly, are still observed the foundations of an oblong building, with some remains of Doric columns, about two feet and a half in diameter, together with fragments of the triglyphs of a Doric architrave of corresponding dimensions.

As Bendis was the Thracian appellation of Diana, the Bendideium was probably another sanctuary of Diana; and it appears, from the words of Xenophon, to have stood at no great distance from the former[1].

Not far from this place, to the north-east, are the remains of a small theatre, looking down upon the port of Munychia. This theatre is mentioned by Thucydides[2], and Lysias[3], the former of whom calls it the Dionysiac theatre.

Thus it appears that all the public buildings of the demus of Munychia were situated near the harbour, and that the demus, as might indeed be supposed, included all the space of

[1] Οἱ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος ἐς τὴν Ἱπποδάμειον ἀγορὰν ἐλθόντες, πρῶτον μὲν ξυνετάξαντο, ὥστε ἐμπλῆσαι τὴν ὁδὸν ἣ φέρει πρός τε τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Μουνυχίας Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ τὸ Βενδίδειον — Xenoph. Hellen. l. 2, c. 4.

[2] . . . . τὸ πρὸς τῇ Μουνυχίᾳ Διονυσιακὸν θέατρον.—Thucyd. l. 8, c. 93.

[3] Ἐπειδὴ ἡ ἐκκλησία Μουνυχιάσιν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ ἐγίγνετο, &c. —Lys. cont. Agorat. Reiske, p. 464.

ground around the head of Port Munychia, as well as the entire peninsula, which lies westward of that isthmus; and the actual appearance of which is so exactly conformable with the description given by Strabo[1], of the natural hollows and artificial excavations of the hill of Munychia. Remains of walls, excavations in the rocks for the foundations of buildings, and other traces of ancient habitations, are indeed found in every part of the hills formerly occupied by the three demi, but they are more particularly remarkable in the Munychian peninsula.

The port of Phalerum having been the only one of the Athenian harbours in use in the early ages of Athenian history, contained a greater number of objects of veneration than either of the two other maritime demi. But of the temples of Ceres, of Minerva Sciras, of Jupiter, or of the other buildings and monuments of Phalerum, not a trace remains, unless it be in some foundations which are found near the shore between Ports Fanári and Stratiotikí. Phalerum, like so many other places in Greece, has preserved little or nothing of its ancient works, except the fortifications.

The monuments of the other two demi, how-

[1] Λόφος δ' ἔστιν ἡ Μουνυχία χερρονησίζων καὶ κοῖλος καὶ ὑπόνομος πολὺ μέρος φύσει τὲ καὶ ἐπίτηδες ὡς οἰκήσεις δέχεσθαι στομίῳ τε μικρῷ τὴν εἴσοδον ἔχον.—Strabo, p. 395.

ever, of which the remains still exist, namely the two theatres and the temple of Diana Munychia, furnish some interesting illustrations of Athenian history, and by means of those illustrations tend also, in great measure, to confirm the conjectures which have been offered upon the situations of those buildings in the maritime demi, of which no satisfactory traces are now to be found.

In the disputes between the Four Hundred and the party of Theramenes, in the twenty-first year of the Peloponnesian war[1], we find the theatre of Munychia taken possession of by the Hoplitæ, who had first been employed by the Four Hundred to build the fortress at Eetioneia, but who had afterwards been induced by the arts of the opposite party to destroy it.

The Hoplitæ, after consulting together in the theatre of Munychia, agreed to march to Athens, where, having taken possession of the Anaceium, the Four Hundred found themselves obliged to propose to them a change in the government, and an early meeting for that purpose in the great theatre of Bacchus. Before the day arrived, however, the appearance of the Lacedæmonian ships, the defeat of the Athenians by sea at Eretria, and their consequent

[1] Thucyd. l. 8, c. 93. Lysias cont. Agorat. Reiske, p. 464.

loss of Eubœa, brought about the immediate deposition of the Four Hundred and the appointment of a new government, the prudence and activity of which saved Athens from a situation of the utmost difficulty.

The Peiraic theatre, the Agora Hippodameia, the temple of Diana Munychia, and the Bendideium, are mentioned by Xenophon[1], in his account of those memorable events, which led to the overthrowing of the power of the Thirty Tyrants by Thrasybulus, eight years after the former occurrences.

Thrasybulus having surprised and defeated the Athenians near Phyle, marched to Peiræeus with about a thousand men, where, finding himself unable to defend a position on the hamaxitus, or carriage way, which led from Athens to Peiræeus, against the force sent after him by the Thirty Tyrants, he began his retreat towards Munychia. The troops of the Thirty immediately advanced into the Hippodameian agora, and entered the road which led from thence to the temple of Diana Munychia and the Bendideium. Thrasybulus perceiving the advantages to be derived from meeting the superior forces of the adversary in this narrow pass, immediately prepared to engage. The

[1] L. 2, c. 4.

Hoplitæ from the city were under the necessity of drawing up fifty deep, with their light troops in the rear: their opponents were only ten deep; but in their rear, besides the usual proportion of light-armed and javelin-men, was a large body of slingers, men of Peiræeus, who had joined them[1]. Thrasybulus made a speech to his troops, in which he explained to them the disadvantages of the enemy's position, arising from their being on a level ground, where neither the light troops could discharge their stones and javelins[2], nor the rear ranks of their Hoplitæ could act, as they would be unable to launch their missiles with any effect over the heads of those in front of them; whereas the troops of Thrasybulus, who were on a rising ground, would make every spear, and javelin, and stone take effect; and by forcing the enemy's Hoplitæ to hold their shields before their faces, would give the Thrasybulian Hoplitæ the greatest advantage in coming to close quarters with them. The priest forbad the attack until some one on the side of Thrasybulus should fall, and then himself rushed

[1] ....πελτοφόροι τε καὶ ψιλοὶ ἀκοντισταὶ· ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις οἱ πετροβόλοι· οὗτοι μέντοι συχνοὶ ἦσαν· καὶ γὰρ αὐτόθεν προσεγένοντο.—Xenoph. ibid.

[2] Οὗτοι μὲν οὔτε βάλλειν οὔτε ἀκοντίζειν ὑπὲρ των προτεταγμένων, διὰ τὸ πρὸς ὄρθιον ἰέναι, δύναιντ' ἄν.—Xenoph. ibid.

forward, and was slain. Thrasybulus upon this immediately became the assailant, gained an easy victory, and pursued the enemy as far as the plain. Thrasybulus having thus gained quiet possession of the Munychian fortress, and the Lacedæmonians being unable to dislodge him from it, it soon led to the restoration of the liberty of Athens.

It is evident from all that precedes that the Hippodameian agora was near the entrance into the demus of Peiræeus from Athens: that there were two streets leading out of it, one to the Macra Stoa, and other buildings along the shore of the harbour; the other across the root of the Phaleric hill, below the theatre of Peiræeus, in a direct line to the head of Port Munychia: and that the defeat of the troops of the Thirty took place between the Hippodameia and the rise of the hill, where the Thrasybulians were posted[1].

[1] Diodorus, in relating these events (l. 14, c. 33), has justly ascribed the success of Thrasybulus in overthrowing the power of the Thirty Tyrants to the gaining possession of Munychia. His description, however, of Munychia as a desert and strong hill (λόφον ἔρημον καὶ κάρτερον), could not have been correct as to the former epithet in the time of Thrasybulus, whatever it may have been in that of Diodorus himself. Nor will the unquestionable authority of Xenophon allow us to believe that Diodorus is accurate in saying, that the Thirty *besieged* Munychia (προσέβαλον τῇ Μουνυχίᾳ), since it is

The fortifications of the maritime demi are still traceable through the greater part of their circumference, and serve to illustrate some events of Athenian history, as well as the general practice of military architecture among the ancients.

There is no event in that history which more forcibly exemplifies the strength of the maritime city than the siege of Athens by Sylla[1]. Some of the historians who have described that siege, have remarked that the Peiraic city had six or seven different walls or inclosures[2]. Their existing remains enable us to enumerate them as follows:

1. The sea-line of maritime Athens. It begins at a round tower which overlooks the north-west angle of the bay of Phalerum; it follows the windings of the rocky shores of the

evident that the action which secured to Thrasybulus the possession of Munychia was fought under the northern slope of the hill, below the Peiraic theatre, before either party had reached Munychia.

[1] Appian. de Bell. Mithridat. c. 30. Plutarch, Paral. in Sylla. Dion. Cass. fragm. 121, 123.

[2] Ita dimicavit (Sylla) ut et Athenas reciperet et plurimo circa multiplices Piræei munitiones labore expleto, amplius ducenta hostium millia interficeret.—Vell. Paterc. l. 2. c. 23. Mox, subruto Piræei portu sex quoque et amplius muris, &c. Flor. l. 3, c. 5. Orosius, a Spaniard of the fourth century, says (l. 6, c. 2), Piræeum septemplici muro communitum.

demi of Phalerum and Munychia, crossing the mouths of the harbours of Phalerum and Munychia, and *closing* those two ports; and it terminates at a mole connecting cape Alcimus with a small island, probably occupied in ancient times by a tower, which, with a corresponding round tower at the southern extremity of the triangular inclosure already mentioned as occupying all the north-west side of Port Peiræeus, defended the entrance into Port Zea from the open sea.

The greater part of the sea-line belonged to the demus of Munychia: that of Peiræeus (no part of it being adjacent to the open sea) had, together with a part of Phalerum, an extensive land front, the connexion of which with the Long Walls on the east, together with its exposed position to the north and west, gave rise to a complex system of fortifications. These consisted of,

2. A great transverse wall, which, branching from the same round tower near the north-west angle of the bay of Phalerum, passed along the northern face of the hill of Phalerum[1], and was apparently prolonged from thence until it

[1] By the hill of Phalerum is meant that which extends from Port Phalerum to the head of Port Peiræeus. Its summit, which is immediately above Port Phalerum, is the highest point of the whole Peiraic peninsula.

met the north-eastern extremity of Port Aphrodisium, near the modern Custom-house. From thence, crossing the mouth of Port Cantharus (where a narrow opening was left in the centre), it ascended the hill on the north-west side of Port Aphrodisium, and formed the north side of the triangular inclosure, already described as terminating in the round tower which stood on one side of the entrance into the triangle. From the corresponding round tower stretched the wall, which formed the west side of the triangle. It terminated to the south in a third round tower, which, corresponding probably with another similar structure upon the small island already noticed, formed the defence of the entrance from the open sea into Port Zea.

The eastern portion of the land front of maritime Athens, or that part which bordered upon the demus of Phalerum, and upon the eastern quarter of the demus of Peiræeus, was a defence to maritime Athens against an enemy in possession of the longomural inclosure, which thus became an outwork both to Athens and to the maritime city. On the western side of Peiræeus there was no such connexion with the general system of Athenian fortifications. An enemy might here attack the defences of the great port of Athens without approaching the Long Walls. A system of outworks was, there-

fore, necessary, for the protection of this part of the land-side of maritime Athens. They appear (as well as can be judged from the existing remains) to have consisted of a wall which followed the curvature of Port Cantharus at a small distance from the shore, and of another, which, beginning at the shore of the open sea, followed the exterior side of a long narrow creek, which branches from the open sea near the outer entrance of Port Zea. The latter wall was bent into a curve toward its northern extremity, and appears to have terminated at the outside edge of a ditch[1], which has been excavated in the rock, for the defence of the northern wall of the triangular inclosure, and thus the curved wall covered the entrance between the two round towers: it must, of course, have contained an exterior gate, though no traces of it are now to be found. Besides this outwork, there are also the remains of a wall traceable in a direct line from the head of Port Cantharus towards Port Phoron. It has every appearance of being part of a fortification, which, reaching from the one harbour to the other, defended all the peninsula of Trapezóna on the land side. If it was

[1] This may perhaps be one of the ditches for the defence of Peiræeus, made by the orator Demosthenes (Plutarch de X Rhet. in Demosth.).

so, it may be considered as an additional outwork of maritime Athens on the western side, and as forming, together with the wall which served as a counterscarp to the triangular inclosure, a third and fourth of the *multiplices Piræei munitiones.*

There are no remains of ancient works to show the manner in which the northern Long Wall was united to the defences of Port Cantharus, and of the adjoining parts of the demus of Peiræeus; but there can be little doubt that there was a strong system of works for the protection of this important and assailable quarter—and these works may have been another of the manifold inclosures of maritime Athens. However this may be, we may at least consider as a fifth inclosure the wall which branching on one side from a part of the triangular arsenal, formed, together with a corresponding wall branching from the side of Munychia, the separation between Ports Zea and Aphrodisium. Their foundations were in the sea, and the reefs on which they stood, together with the ruins of the walls, now form shoals on either side of the bay, at the extremities of which are two small conical whitened masses of masonry, which have been built by the Turks, to indicate the entrance of the harbour: their place

was undoubtedly occupied in ancient times by two handsome towers.

The eastern of these two moles, or walls of separation between ports Zea and Aphrodisium, was united to the ramparts of Munychia, which, forming a continuation of the sea-line of maritime Athens, followed the shore of port Dhrako from the entrance of the ancient Zea to the Munychian isthmus. It was probably continued likewise across the isthmus nearly in the line of the Venetian entrenchment; and there are even some traces of a wall near the shore of port Munychia, which seem to show that this port also was separated from the peninsula of Munychia, so as to render the latter a complete fortress of itself. Thus constituted, it became the citadel of maritime Athens, overhanging and commanding three of the ports, and presenting on every other side a strong rampart of sixty feet in height[1], which could only be approached by previously penetrating through the other defences of the Peiraic peninsula, and which could only be attacked from the sea, or from the narrow isthmus of port Munychia.

[1] Ὕψος δ' ἦν τὰ τείχη πήχεων τεσσαράκοντα μάλιστα καὶ εἴργαστο ἐκλίθου μεγάλου καὶ τετραγώνου· Περικλεῖον ἔργον, &c.—Appian. de Bel. Mithridat. c. 30.

In the account given by Plutarch and Diodorus[1] of the proceedings of Demetrius Poliorcetes, when sent from Asia by his father, Antigonus, to rescue Athens and other Greek cities from the hands of Cassander, we have a proof that Munychia was formed into a separate fortress by walls carried across the isthmus. We find that upon his first arrival Demetrius drew a line of contravallation across the isthmus, according to the usual practice of the Greeks in sieges: that he afterwards besieged Munychia by sea and *land*, for two days, with machines: that while the troops of Demetrius had the advantage of numbers, those of Dionysius (the officer of Cassander) had the advantage of position; and that when the place had surrendered, Demetrius destroyed the fortifications of the isthmus, and gave up Munychia to the Athenians.

Again, when the Peiræeus was besieged by Sylla, Archelaus, the general of Mithridates, finding himself unable to defend the rest of the maritime city, retreated into that part which was surrounded by the sea[2]; that is to

[1] Plutarch in Demetr.—Diodor. Sic. l. 20, c. 45.

[2] Ὁ Ἀρχέλαος.... ἐξέλιπεν αὐτοῖς τὰ τείχη· ἐς δέ τι τοῦ Πειραιῶς ἀνέδραμεν ὀχυρώτατόν τε καὶ θαλάσσῃ περίκλυστον· ᾧ ναῦς οὐκ ἔχων ὁ Σύλλας οὐδ' ἐπιχειρεῖν ἐδύνατο.—Appian. de Bel. Mithridat. c. 40.

say, into the peninsula of Munychia,—a movement, which would have been of little advantage to him, unless the isthmus had been fortified.

Solon had the sagacity to foresee the danger with which Athens was threatened by the Munychian peninsula in the hands of an enemy[1]. The other great Athenian statesman, who established the ascendancy of Athens upon the basis of its naval power, and who hoped to make Peiræeus, what it afterwards became, the emporium of all Greece, directed his earliest attention to the fortifying of Munychia.

The subsequent history of Athens shows how much its destiny, or (to use the expression of a Latin author) its existence[2], depended upon the

[1] Μουνυχίαν ἰδὼν (Solon) καὶ καταμάθων πολὺν χρόνον, εἰπεῖν πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας ὡς τυφλόν ἐστι τοῦ μέλλοντος ἄνθρωπος· ἐκφαγεῖν γὰρ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τοῖς αὐτῶν ὀδοῦσιν εἰ προΐδεισαν ὅσα τὴν πόλιν ἀνιάσει τὸ χωρίον.—Plutarch Paral. in Solon.

Vide et Plutarch. in Erotico.

Diogenes Laertius (in Epimen.) and John Tzetzes (Hist. Var. Chiliad V.) relate the same saying, not of Solon, but of Epimenides.

[2] Nicanor Piræeo est potitus.... sine quo Athenæ esse omnino non possunt.—Corn. Nep. in Phocion, c. 2.

The same author, in the Life of Themistocles, says of the Peiraic city..... hujus (Themistoclis) consilio Piræeus mœnibus circundatus, ut ipsam urbem dignitate æquipararet, utilitate superaret. In the most populous ages of Athens the great maritime supplies of corn were alone suf-

maritime demi, and particularly upon their citadel, Munychia. The possession of this fortress was more important than that of the Acropolis itself: and whoever was master of Munychia was master of Athens.

In the Peloponnesian war the Lacedæmonians had no sooner obtained possession of the harbour, than the Athenians submitted to terms of capitulation[1]. When Thrasybulus had established himself in Munychia, he soon overset the power of the Thirty Tyrants, whom the Lacedæmonians had placed in the command of the city[2]. During the struggles of Athens with the kings of Macedonia, the possession of Munychia decided or secured the ascendancy of either party. Thus, when Antipater, after the death of his opponent, Leosthenes, had humbled the Athenians by his successes in the Lamiac war, his first step was to seize Peiræeus and the Long Walls; after which, having placed a garrison in Munychia, he made Athens subservient to him as long as he lived[3]. Demetrius of Phalerum, supported by the garri-

ficient to make the *existence* of the city dependent upon Peiræeus.

[1] Xenoph. Hell. l. 2, c. 2.

[2] Xenoph. Hell. l. 2, c. 4.—Diodor. Sicul. l. 14. c. 33.—Andocid. de Myster. Reiske, p. 38.

[3] Diodor. Sic. l. 18, c. 18.—Plutarch, in Phocion.—Pausan. Attic. c. 25.

son placed in Munychia by Cassander, the successor of Antipater, governed Athens for twelve years[1]. By the siege and capture of Munychia, Demetrius Poliorcetes expelled the Phalerean, and restored the Athenians to liberty, until Cassander again acquired the power of establishing a garrison in Munychia. The tyrant Lachares, supported by this garrison, ruled Athens until Demetrius, after the defeat and death of his father, Antigonus, in Asia, found it necessary to expel Lachares by force, in order to regain his footing in Greece[2]. Demetrius hoped to secure Athens from future defection, by placing a garrison in Museium, as well as in Munychia; but upon his being driven from the throne of Macedonia, the Athenians under Olympiodorus assaulted and took Museium[3], and reduced the garrison in Munychia

[1] Diodor. Sic. l. 18, c. 74.—Plutarch, in Demetr.—Pausan. bid.—Diogen. Laert. l. 5, s. 75.

[2] Diodor. Sic. l. 20, c. 45.—Plutarch, in Demetr.—Pausan. bid.

[3] Pausan. Attic. c. 26. In the system of Athenian fortification, the Museium was a most important post, the possession of which the Macedonians might safely prefer to that of the Acropolis itself. The Museium secured to them the quiet possession of the Long Walls, at the same time that it commanded the city. The Acropolis, which had nothing but salt-springs and rain for its supply of water, might thus be left unoccupied and sacred to the deities and the arts of Athens.

to surrender. This obliged Demetrius once more to invest Athens with his forces; but, instead of indulging in the revenge which was in his power, he was persuaded to turn his attention to Asia, and to leave the Athenians to themselves[1].

During the struggles for the crown of Macedonia, which intervened between the expulsion of Demetrius and the accession of his son, Antigonus Gonatas, Athens appears to have been entirely free from a Macedonian garrison. Against Antigonus the Athenians united with the Lacedæmonians, and with Ptolemy Philadelphus; but Areus, who commanded the Lacedæmonians, having suddenly deserted the camp, the Egyptians confining themselves to operations by sea, and Athens being closely invested by Antigonus, the Athenians were once more obliged to receive Macedonian troops into their fortresses. The garrison of Museium was soon after voluntarily withdrawn by Antigonus[2]; but the occupation of Munychia and Peiræeus by the Macedonians, and the consequent dependence of Athens upon them, continued during the reigns of Antigonus, and of his son, Demetrius the Second. In the reign of Antigonus Doson, the brother of the latter Demetrius, the Athenians,

[1] Plutarch, ibid.

[2] Pausan. Attic. c. 1.—Lacon. c. 6.

by the assistance of Aratus of Sicyon, purchased Munychia, Peiræeus, Sunium, and Salamis, of the Macedonian governor, for a hundred and fifty talents[1], and the Athenians recovered and enjoyed their liberty until they fell under the Roman yoke. The political importance of Athens perished for ever with the destruction of the maritime fortifications by Sylla[2]; but the importance of Munychia, although without walls, was still practically acknowledged by the Romans, when Athens having espoused the cause of Pompey, Q. Fufius Calenus was sent by Cæsar into Greece, and occupied the Peiræeus as preparatory to an attack upon Athens[3]. He had not, however, begun the siege, when the news of the defeat of Pompey in Pharsalia, produced the immediate submission of the

[1] Plutarch in Arat.—Pausan. Corinth. c. 8.

[2] This was the only instance, until that of the Venetians, in which Athens was taken by a regular siege. Sylla carried on his operations at the same time both against the city and the Peiræeus. The latter was by much the stronger. He took the city by assault; but his conquest was of the most doubtful kind, until Archelaus, who had abandoned the rest of the Peiræeus, and had retreated into Munychia, embarked from thence, and thus gave up every thing to Sylla. Appian de Bell. Mithrid. c. 41.—Plutarch, in Sylla.

[3] .... καὶ εἶλεν ἄλλα τε καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ ἄτε καὶ ἀτειχίστον ὄντα.—Dion. Cass. l. 42, c. 14.

Athenians to Cæsar, who pardoned the living for the sake of the dead[1].

Even as late as the last century we find the Venetians establishing themselves in Munychia, as a previous step to a successful attack upon Athens, and they fortified the peninsula by an entrenchment, the remains of which are still in existence[2].

Of all the complicated and elaborate works which protected maritime Athens, little is now to be seen beyond the foundations of the walls, and of some of the towers which flanked them. These foundations, however, are traceable in almost every part of the site, except towards the head of port Dhrako, and in the neighbourhood of the creek, anciently port Cantharus, so that little doubt can exist as to the general plan which has been submitted to the reader. On the side of Munychia, towards the open sea, the remains are best preserved. Here three or four courses of masonry, both of walls and of square towers, are in many

[1] .. εἶπων ὅτι πολλὰ ἁμαρτάνοντες, ὑπὸ τῶν νεκρῶν σώζοιντο. —Dion. Cass. ibid.

[2] Fanelli (Atene Attiche) says, that these entrenchments were thrown up to prevent the communication of the plague from the Turks and Greeks of the city to the Venetian camp. Even from this, however, it is evident that the Venetians had made the Munychian peninsula their place of arms.

places to be seen; and there are several situations where we still find the wall built in the manner described by Thucydides[1]; that is to say, not filled up in the middle with rubble, in the usual manner of the Greeks, but constructed throughout the whole thickness of squared stones, cramped together with metal. This we may suppose to have belonged to the original work of Themistocles, which has thus survived the lapse of twenty-three centuries. The other remains probably belong to the restored works which were erected after the destruction of the Peiraic walls by the Lacedæmonians, or to the repairs which must have been often rendered necessary by the injuries of time.

In the ports, particularly in port Munychia, are traced, in several parts of the beach, the foundations of walls running into the water at right angles to the beach, intended probably as places of shelter for small boats, or as foundations for boat-houses.

Long Walls. The Long Walls (τὰ μακρὰ τείχη or τὰ σκέλη), like the walls of the Asty, and of the maritime city, were flanked at intervals with towers, some traces of which are still to be seen. Thus they formed, together with a portion of the walls of

[1] L. 1, c. 93.

the Asty and of the Peiræeus at either end, an inclosure, which was one of the three great garrisons into which Athens was divided, and which, in this light, was sometimes denominated the Long Fortress, *τὸ μακρὸν τεῖχος* [1]. When the greater

[1] .... *ἡ δὲ βουλὴ ἐξελθοῦσα ἐν ἀποῤῥήτῳ.... ἀνακαλέσαντες δὲ τοὺς στρατήγους ἀνειπεῖν ἐκέλευσαν, Ἀθηναίων τοὺς μὲν ἐν ἄστει οἰκοῦντας ἰέναι εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν τὰ ὅπλα λαβόντας· τοὺς δ' ἐν μακρῷ τείχει εἰς τὸ Θησεῖον· τοὺς δ' ἐν Πειραιεῖ εἰς τὴν Ἱπποδαμείαν ἀγοράν· τοὺς δ' ἱππεῖς ἔτι νυκτὸς σημῆναι τῇ σάλπιγγι ἥκειν εἰς τὸ Ἀνάκειον· τὴν δὲ βουλὴν εἰς ἀκρόπολιν ἰέναι κἀκεῖ καθεύδειν· τοὺς δὲ πρυτάνεις ἐν τῇ Θόλῳ.*—Andocid. de Myster. p. 23, Reiske.

The distribution of the Athenian forces of which Andocides here speaks, occurred in the Peloponnesian war, when parties running very high between the Four Hundred and their opponents, the Bœotians advanced to the frontiers, to take advantage of the confusion. The places of assembly for those who bore arms were, for the cavalry, the temenus of the Dioscuri, and for the infantry the following stations: in the Asty, the Agora; in the Long Walls, the Theseium; and in the Peiraic city, the Hippodameian Agora: the senate were to pass the night in the Acropolis and the Prytanæ in the Tholus. Here it may be remarked, 1. That the Long Walls are called the Long Fortress, *τὸ μακρὸν τεῖχος*. Livy, in like manner, calls it *murus* (in the singular) qui brachiis duobus Piræeum Athenis jungit (l. 31, c. 26). 2. That the Theseium mentioned by Andocides was not the celebrated temple of Theseus in the city, but another sacred inclosure of Theseus in the Long Walls: for, although we know from Thucydides (l. 6, c. 61), that the Theseium of the city, like the Anaceium and Odeium, was occasionally a place of assembly for troops; yet, in this

part of the population of Attica crowded into Athens, at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, the towers of the Long Walls, and of the two cities, furnished dwellings to the unfortunate fugitives from the open country[1]. The long narrow space between the two walls was covered with dwellings, and was thickly inhabited, as long as Athens remained flourishing and populous. Of this we find many proofs in the ancient writers; but there is none more remarkable than that contained in the affecting and lively picture drawn by Xenophon[2] of the

instance, the defence of the longomural inclosure being the intention of the assembling of the troops in the Theseium, that object could not well be attained by removing them out of the Long Walls into the city. There were four Theseia (Plut. in Thes.), and of these we have already seen that there was one near the sea in the Peiraic city: it is for this reason that Thucydides, in the passage just referred to, specifies the Theseium mentioned by him to have been within the city (ἐν Θησείῳ τῷ ἐν πόλει).

Polyænus (in l. 1, c. 40) distinguishes the three military divisions of Athens not less clearly than Andocides. He informs us that Alcibiades kept the Athenian troops on the alert, by raising torches from the Acropolis, which were to be answered by other torches from the City, from the Long Walls and from the Peiræeus—βουλόμενος τοὺς φύλακας του ἄστεος καὶ τοῦ Πειραιέως καὶ τῶν Σκελῶν τῶν ἄχρι θαλασσαν ἀγρύπνους περὶ τὴν φυλακὴν κατασκευάσαι.

[1] Thucyd. l. 2, c. 17.

[2] Xenoph. l. 2, c. 2.

distress of the Athenians, when they received the news of the defeat of their fleet at Æguspotami. "No sooner had the Paralia arrived with "the news, in the night, than a sound of lamenta- "tion was heard spreading from the Peiræeus "through the Long Walls to the City, as each "person communicated the fatal intelligence "to his neighbour. No one slept that night; "for they dreaded that the Lacedæmonians "would retaliate upon them, what they them- "selves had done to the Melii, a Lacedæmo- "nian colony, and to the Histiæenses, and "Scionæi, and Toronæi, and Æginetæ, and so "many other people of Greece." The next day, in a general assembly, it was resolved to fill up all the ports except one, to repair and garrison the walls, and to make every preparation for a siege. They had little time, however, for these measures: the two Spartan kings encamped in the Academy; Lysander, with a hundred and fifty triremes, sailed unopposed into the Peiræeus; and the Athenians, after suffering for several months all the torments of famine, were constrained, upon a second reference to Sparta, to give up all their ships, except twelve, and were under the hard necessity of seeing their Long Walls and the walls of Peiræeus overthrown by the Lacedæ-

monian troops to the sound of musical instruments[1].

If the Long Walls were considered by the ancients as one of the greatest objects of curiosity at Athens[2], they appear still more ex-

[1] Xenoph. Hellen. l. 2, c. 2.—Lysias vers. Agorat. p. 453, Reiske.—Andocid. de Pac. cum Laced. p. 94.—Diodor. Sic. l. 13, c. 107.—Plutarch, in Lysand.

Chandler (p. 21) has supposed that ten stades of the Long Walls were allowed to stand at either end; but the concurring testimonies of the authors cited above, show that the destruction (though perhaps in few parts very complete) was applied to the whole extent of the Long Walls, and to all the circuit of the Peiraic city. Chandler's mistake seems to have arisen from the expressions of Xenophon, who informs us, that the *first proposal* of the Lacedæmonians was to throw down (not all the Long Walls, *except ten stades* at each end, but) ten stades of each of the Long Walls. —*προεκαλοῦντο δὲ τῶν μακρῶν τειχῶν ἐπὶ δέκα σταδίους καθελεῖν ἑκάτερον.* But the people then refused to listen to an offer which they would afterwards have gladly accepted. The language of Lysias is still more explicit than that of Xenophon. *Θηραμένης.... ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος.... ἦλθε φέρων εἰρήνην τοιαυτὴν ἣν ἡμεῖς ἔργῳ μαθόντες ἔγνωμεν.... ἦν γὰρ ἀντὶ μὲν τοῦ ἐπὶ δέκα στάδια τῶν μακρῶν τειχῶν διελεῖν, ὅλα τὰ μακρὰ τείχη διασκάψαι· ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ ἄλλό τι ἀγαθὸν τῇ πόλει εὑρέσθαι, τὰς δὲ ναῦς παραδοῦναι τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ τὸ περὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ τεῖχος περιελεῖν.*

[2] *Ἵν' ἴδῃ ποτὲ τὸν Πειραιᾶ τὸν καλὸν καὶ τὰ Μακρὰ Τείχη καὶ τὴν Ἀκρόπολιν.*—Arrian. in Epict. l. 3, c. 24.

When Æmilius Paullus visited Athens, after having com-

traordinary to us, who cannot avoid viewing them with a reference to the present art of war: and hence they become very important in illustrating the military policy of the Greeks, and especially that of the Athenians. The history of the construction of these singular works throws the best light upon the object and intention of them. When, after the expulsion of the Persians from Greece, the administration of affairs fell into the hands of Themistocles, his first care was to fortify Athens. The walls of the upper city having been completed in the hasty manner which has already been noticed, his next object was to fortify the maritime demi[1]. He performed this operation in a manner which showed that the great scope of his policy was naval dominion[2], and that he wished the Athenians to look towards the sea for security. His

pleted the conquest of Macedonia, Livy remarks: Athenas inde, plenas quidem et ipsas vetustate famæ, multa tamen visenda habentes: arcem, portus, muros Piræeum urbi jungentes, navalia magnorum imperatorum, &c. l. 45, c. 27.

[1] Thucyd. l. 1, c. 89. et seq.—Diodor. Sic. l. 11, c. 19.—Plutarch, in Themist.

[2] From this evident policy of the Athenian statesman, and from the dimensions of the Peiraic city being greater than those of Athens, arose the observation of Plutarch, in reference to a line in the Equites of Aristophanes, that Themistocles had rather joined Athens to Peiræeus, than Peiræeus to Athens.

power, however, did not last long enough to give him the honour of completing these works, as we learn from Plato[1], that they were in part executed by Pericles.

The next object of Themistocles was to unite the two fortresses of Athens and Peiræeus by a line, which should prevent an enemy from cutting off the communication between them.

The locality of the city, and the inferiority of the Athenian land forces to those of their rivals, the Lacedæmonians, conspired to render this operation of the greatest utility. The northern Long Wall, which seems to have been the only one originally in contemplation[2], was analogous to a line of entrenchments, of four miles in length, stretching from one large fortified town to another, for the maintenance of the communication between the two, as well as for the protec-

[1] Plato, in Gorgia. Appian, also, in describing the walls of Peiræeus, calls them Περίκλειον ἔργον.

[2] Æschines, in his Oration de Falsâ Legatione (p. 335, Reiske), states the northern Long Wall to have been built several years before the southern. The same assertion, in nearly the same words, is made by Andocides, de pace cum Lacedæmoniis (p. 91); if this oration be really his. Although it will be seen below, that Æschines was probably incorrect as to the date of the walls, the fact of the building of the one before the other may perhaps be conceded to such an authority.

tion of the whole province which lay behind them. According to the ancient art of war, the northern Long Wall, flanked by towers at intervals, performed this service effectually, as it left to an army entering the plain of Athens, from the isthmus of Corinth, no passage into the country to the southward and eastward of Athens, except through the difficult pass between the city and mount Hymettus, or (which would have been still more hazardous, with such a city as Athens in the rear of the invader) by making the circuit of mount Hymettus. We find accordingly that the Lacedæmonians never attempted either of these movements, and that this system of fortification was perfectly successful, as long as Munychia was safe, and the line of the Long Walls unbroken[1]. It is at the same time

[1] They remained unbroken from the time of their completion to the capture of Athens by the Lacedæmonians at the end of the Peloponnesian war, a period of fifty-four years: then from their restoration by Conon to the attack made upon Athens by Philip, son of Demetrius, king of Macedonia, a period of a hundred and ninety-three years: and lastly, from the repair which we must suppose to have taken place immediately after the attempt upon Athens by Philip, until their ruin by Sylla, who is said by Appian to have reduced them, or at least a great part of them, to a heap of rubbish,—a period of a hundred and thirteen years; in all three hundred years. The injury which they received

obvious, that a second wall, although not so important as the first, was desirable to complete the security of the communication between Athens and the harbours against an enemy, who, by a debarkation or by a circuitous march, might be in possession of the eastern parts of Attica. The operation of laying the foundations of the Long Walls in the marshy ground, which surrounds the Peiraic hills to a considerable distance, was performed under the administration of Cimon, after his return from the defeat of the Persians in the Eurymedon, the spoils of which expedition appear to have been employed,—first, to build the Cimonian wall of

from Philip may be inferred from the passage of Livy (l. 31, c. 26), where he says that Philip was repulsed in a sudden attack made by him with cavalry and infantry, in the narrow space between the two Long Walls, which were half ruined—eruptione subitâ peditum equitumque inter angustias semiruti muri, qui brachiis duobus Piræeum Athenis jungit. Here the word *semiruti*, and the situation of Philip's troops, equally prove that the line of the walls must have been broken. It is very unlikely that they should at that period have been suffered to go to ruin by the Athenians; but highly probable that they were broken down by Philip himself; for he had begun to besiege both Athens and Peiræeus, and the breaking of the line of the Long Walls was obviously the first operation likely to be performed. Sylla began in the same manner, and with a more successful event. Appian de Bell. Mithr. c. 30.

the Acropolis; then the northern; and, lastly, the southern Long Wall[1]. As the battle of the Eurymedon was fought in the year B. C. 470, the Long Walls were probably begun about the year 468. Thucydides[2] informs us, that both the walls were completed very soon after the battle of Tanagra, which was fought in the year B. C. 458. As Cimon was banished in the year 461, when the popular party headed by Pericles attained the ascendancy; and as Cimon was recalled to Athens, chiefly in consequence of the defeat at Tanagra, the combined testimony of these dates, together with the evidence of Thucydides, of Plutarch, and of Plato[3] (in the Gorgias), tends to show that Cimon had finished the northern and begun the southern Long Wall before his banishment, and that the latter Long Wall was completed by Pericles. Plato introduces Socrates saying, that he remembers to have heard Pericles recommend the building of one of the Long Walls to the Athenians. As this probably occurred in the

[1] Plutarch. Paral. in Cimon.

[2] Thucyd. l. 1, c. 107, 108.

[3] ΓΟΡΓΙΑΣ. ....οἶσθα γὰρ δήπου ὅτι τὰ νεώρια ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τείχη τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ ἡ τῶν λιμένων κατασκευὴ ἐκ τῆς Θεμιστοκλέους συμβουλῆς γέγονε· τὰ δ' ἐκ τῆς Περικλέους. ΣΩΚΡΑΤΗΣ. Λέγεται ταῦτα ὦ Γοργία περὶ Θεμιστοκλέους· Περικλέους δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἤκουον, ὅτε συνεβούλευεν ἡμῖν περὶ του διαμέσου τείχους.—Plato, in Gorg. Tom. I. p. 455. ed. Serran.

year 460, not long after the banishment of Cimon, Socrates being then in his tenth year, was not too young for such a circumstance to have made a lively and permanent impression on his mind[1].

These remarks are rendered necessary, by its having been sometimes supposed that there were three Long Walls, stretching from Athens to Peiræeus, and that Socrates, in the Gorgias, by the words διαμέσου τείχους, meant a third Long Wall, built by Pericles, between the Phaleric and the Peiraic. In support of this opinion, a passage is adduced from Harpocration, who appears not only to maintain the same doctrine, and to show that the wall mentioned by Plato was that called the southern (τὸ Νότιον); but to support his position also, by the authority of a lost comedy of Aristo-

[1] Æschines and Andocides, in the passages already referred to, place the building of the northern Long Wall after the five years truce between Athens and Sparta, and that of the southern Long Wall after the thirty years truce, made at the expiration of the former. The former was in the year B. C. 450, the latter in 445; and thus the orators differ at least ten years from Thucydides. But their declamations are not to stand in competition with the concurring evidence of Thucydides, Plutarch, and Plato, more especially as some other inaccuracies are observable in the sketch which the orators have given of that part of Athenian history.

phanes[1]. The same opinion may seem to account also for the date given to the building of the *southern* wall by Æschines, and at the same time to receive some support from Thucydides, who, in his second book, after remarking that the Phaleric wall was thirty-five stades long, adds, almost immediately afterwards, that "of the Long Walls reaching to Peiræeus, which were forty stades in length, the exterior one only was guarded," thus apparently indicating that there were two walls of forty stades, and one of thirty-five[2].

But there are several powerful reasons for believing that Harpocration was wrong in his interpretation of the passage of Aristophanes[3],

[1] Διαμέσου τείχους, Αντιφῶν πρὸς Νικοκλέα· τριῶν ὄντων τειχῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ, ὡς καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης φησὶν ἐν Τριφάλητι, τοῦ τε Βορείου καὶ τοῦ Νοτίου καὶ τοῦ Φαληρικοῦ, διὰ μέσου τούτων ἐλέγετό τὸ Νότιον, οὗ μνημονεύει καὶ Πλάτων, ἐν Γοργίᾳ.—Harpocrat. in Διαμέσου τείχους.

[2] Τοῦ τε γὰρ Φαληρικοῦ τείχους στάδιοι ἦσαν πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα πρὸς τὸν κύκλον τοῦ ἄστεος.....τὰ δὲ μάκρα τείχη πρὸς τὸν Πειραιᾶ τεσσαράκοντα σταδίων, ὧν τὸ ἔξωθεν ἐτηρεῖτο.—Thucyd. l. 2, c. 13.

[3] It is to be observed, that Harpocration has not given us the passage of Aristophanes; so that we have no means of judging of the kind of evidence which it contains: nor does Harpocration assert that the three walls of which he speaks were all *Long Walls:* he only calls them walls in Attica. The Phaleric may, in this instance, have meant the wall which

and that the words of Thucydides in the second book are only to be considered as a negligence of expression.

1. Thucydides himself, in his first book, describes, and appears to have known only of two Long Walls, the Phaleric and Peiraic, τὸ Φαληρόνδε καὶ τὸ ἐς Πειραιᾶ[1]. 2. Æschines, who lived when the walls were standing, speaks only of the northern and southern Long Walls, and does not hint at the existence of a third. 3. Xenophon, in saying that the Lacedæmonians, after the battle of Æguspotami, demanded the demolition of the Long Walls, uses the words, τῶν μακρῶν τειχῶν ἑκάτερον, an expression which cannot be applied to more than two. 4. The word, σκέλη (legs), attached to those walls by the Greeks, and that of *brachia* (arms), by the Latins, are equally inapplicable to more than two walls. 5. Livy, speaking of the longomural fortress, describes it by the words, "murus, qui brachiis *duobus* Piræëum Athenis jungit." Lastly, The existing vestiges of the walls them-

separated Phalerum from the inclosure between the two (here called the north and south) Long Walls: or Aristophanes may have alluded to the Cimonian wall of the Acropolis, which we know to have been commonly called τὸ Νότιον τεῖχος.

[1] The latter is called by Plato, τὸ Βορεῖον τεῖχος—Plato de Repub. l. 4: see the passage in page 91.

selves furnish the most satisfactory comment upon the ancient authors, who speak of two Long Walls, and are a convincing proof that there never could have been a third, which, indeed, as a military work, would have been not only useless but inconvenient. The word διαμέσου, therefore, was used by Plato merely in allusion to the situation of the Long Wall *between* Athens and the maritime city: and that such was the common acceptation of the words τὰ διαμέσου τείχη is proved from another author of later times[1].

I have already observed that vestiges of the Long Walls still exist. They are chiefly remarkable towards the lower end, where they were connected with the fortifications of Peiræeus and Phalerum. The modern road from Athens to port Dhrako, at something less than two miles short of the latter, comes upon the foundations of the northern Long Wall, which are formed of vast masses of squared stones, and are about twelve feet in thickness. The road follows the wall for about a mile and a half, and then leaves it to the left. Running precisely parallel to it, at the distance of five hundred and fifty feet, are seen the foundations of the south-

[1] Καί τοι διακοσίων σταδίων εἶναι τὴν περίμετρον τῶν Ἀθηνῶν, τοῦ Πειραιέως συντεθεμένου καὶ τῶν διαμέσου τειχῶν.—Dion Chrysost. Orat. 6, p. 87.

ern Long Wall: they are not traceable in this part for more than half a mile from the place where they are united to the Peiraic peninsula; but some other vestiges of them are found in the vineyards, which occupy the centre of the lower plain of Athens, still preserving the same straight line directed upon the southern side of the Acropolis as the northern Long Wall is upon the northern side of the Acropolis. There seems to be no doubt, therefore, that the walls ran parallel to each other at the distance of five hundred and fifty feet through the whole plain[1], thus forming a wide street, running from the centre of the Phaleric hill, exactly in the direction of the entrance of the Acropolis.

The northern Long Wall is traced in a straight line quite as far as the foot of the Peiraic hills, where it meets a cape or point of those hills, which here projects into the plain. The southern Long Wall, on the contrary, in order to meet another projection of the hill of Phalerum,

[1] The general parallelism of the Long Walls may be inferred from a passage of Heliodorus, in his romance of the Æthiopics, where speaking of an imaginary structure of this kind at Syene, he describes it as a double wall, extending from the Nile to the city; and he compares it to *Long Walls*, because an equal breadth was preserved between the two walls through the whole length — εἴκασεν ἄν τις μακροῖς τείχεσιν τὸ γινόμενον, τοῦ μὲν ἡμιπλέθρου τὸ ἴσον πλάτος δι' ὅλου φυλάττοντος.—l. 9, c. 3.

which lies about seven hundred yards to the eastward of the point, where the existing traces of the northern Long Wall terminate, is deflected for the last four hundred yards in a more southerly direction than that which it follows, when parallel to the northern wall.

The southern Long Wall appears to have terminated at the projection of the hill of Phalerum: the wall with which it there unites takes the direction of south-east, and follows the foot of the hill along the edge of the Phaleric marsh, until it meets the heights near the angle of the Phaleric bay, where it appears to have terminated at the round tower, which I have already more than once had occasion to notice, as the commencement of the inclosure of maritime Athens towards the open sea. Of the northern Long Wall no traces exist beyond the cape, where it joins the Peiraic hill; but it probably made a slight bend at this point, and was at length connected in some manner, which does not now appear, with the fortifications which defended port Cantharus. Supposing the Phaleric Long Wall to have terminated at the point of the hill already mentioned, and the Peiraic near port Cantharus, the difference of length between them will be exactly that which Thucydides has stated, namely, five stades; the northern being forty stades, and the southern thirty-five.

Although no certain vestiges of the Long Walls remain towards their upper or north-eastern extremity, it is probable that they were connected with the peribolus of the asty or city itself, nearly in the same manner as we perceive them to have been connected with the inclosure of maritime Athens; that is to say, by diverging on their approach to the foot of the hills of Museium and Pnyx (the northern wall to the left, and the southern to the right), so as to inclose all the southern and western face of those heights, the southern Long Wall being, perhaps, joined to the city walls, not far from the monument of Philopappus, and the northern at the north-western end of the hill of Pnyx, near the gate which stood in the Pnyco-Lycabettian pass. And there is something more than mere conjecture for this supposition. 1. Thucydides, in describing the disposition of the Athenian forces at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, for the defence of the fortifications which had then been recently completed, informs us, that the portion of the city wall, included between the extremities of the two Long Walls, was not defended by troops; to which the scholiast adds (Thucydides having omitted to inform us of the length of this part of the wall), that it was seventeen stades in length. Now, though it is impossible to admit that this number can be correct, as it would

suppose the Long Walls to have embraced an extent of the peribolus of the city greater than its diameter, yet it seems almost equally difficult, upon considering the words of Thucydides, together with those of the scholiast, to imagine that the interval of wall was less than *one* stade, as it would have been if the two walls continued to run parallel at the distance of five hundred and fifty feet asunder, quite up to the peribolus of the asty, without diverging as they approached it.

2. Every part of the slopes of Pnyx and Museium, south-westward of the ancient wall, which is traced over the summit of those hills, bears marks of having, at one period of time, served for depositing the dead, and at another time of having been thickly inhabited by the living. Amidst sepulchral chambers and niches, excavated in the rock, are seen other excavations for magazines, for cisterns, for chairs, for the foundations of houses, for drains, for chimneys, and for walls, where holes for the rafters are found. It appears, therefore, that the wall across the summit of Pnyx and Museium was the *ancient* peribolus[1] (as Pausanias calls it), immediately on the outside of which were the

[1] Ἔστι δὲ ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου ἀρχαίου τὸ Μουσεῖον, ἀπ' αντικρὺ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως λόφος.—Attic. c. 25.

Cimonian sepulchres in Cœle: that before the establishment of the Long Walls all the hills of Museium and Pnyx, to the southward and westward of the city wall, were destined to sepulchral purposes; and that the same part of those hills afterwards became a portion of the interlongomural division of the city.

3. In conformity with the supposition, that the Long Walls were deflected so as to inclose all the western side of these heights, we find at their foot, towards their north-western extremity, the foundation of a large wall of the same structure and thickness as the northern Long Wall, and which runs in a northerly direction, or precisely in that, which would be followed by a wall diverging from the direct part of the northern Long Wall, in order to inclose the western side of the hill of Pnyx.

City Walls. The remains of ancient works, which serve to guide us in investigating the plan, dimensions, and system of defence of the Peiraic and longomural cities, afford little assistance in the same inquiries as to the asty itself. Along the southern and western sides, from the Ilissus to Dipylum, the direction of the walls is perfectly apparent; but through the rest of the circumference no certain evidence of their direction now subsists; for although it has often been asserted, that on the northern side the

modern town wall stands upon the foundations of the ancient peribolus for such a considerable distance as, if the assertion were correct, would be a sufficient evidence of the extent of the city on this side, I am convinced, from a minute examination of the modern wall and of the surrounding plain, that no satisfactory vestiges of the ancient walls are to be found among the numerous remains of ancient foundations, which are certainly to be seen on the northern and north-eastern sides of the ancient site[1]. In the absence, however, of the evidence of existing remains, that of the Athenian writers is by no means unsatisfactory. Upon the memorable occasion at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, when the Athenians

[1] It is not surprising that the walls should have been obliterated both on this side and towards the Ilissus, as they were constructed of brick; for, notwithstanding what Pliny says of the *eternity* of brick walls, we find few remains of ancient walls in Greece, except such as were built of stone. —Nonnullis civitatibus et publica opera et privatas domos etiam regias e latere structas licet videre; et primum Athenis murum, qui spectat ad Hymettum montem et Pentelensem. —Vitruv. l. 2, c. 8.

Græci, præterquam ubi a silice fieri poterat structura, parietes lateritios prætulere: sunt enim æterni, si ad perpendiculum fiant: ideo et in publica opera et in regias domos adduntur. Sic struxere murum Athenis, qui ad montem Hymettum spectat.—Plin. Nat. Hist. l. 35, c. 14.

found it necessary to guard all the assailable parts of their walls against the Lacedæmonians, the length of the walls of the asty, not comprehending the part included between the Long Walls, was forty-three stades[1]. The circuit of the city, therefore, exclusive of the hills of Pnyx and Museium, was something greater than the length of the northern Long Wall, (that wall being forty stades long); or, in other words, it was about equal to the distance from the Peiraic gate of the city to the Peiræeus. To any person who casts his eye upon the plan, it is almost unnecessary to remark, how totally incompatible this measurement is with the supposition of the ancient walls having followed the same line as the modern inclosure on the northern side; for upon applying the distance just mentioned to the circumference of the city, it will be found to stretch so far beyond the northern extremity of the modern walls as to reach quite to the foot of the steep

[1] Τοῦ τε γὰρ Φαληρικοῦ τείχους στάδιοι ἦσαν πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα πρὸς τὸν κύκλον τοῦ ἄστεως καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ κύκλου τὸ φυλασσόμενον τρεῖς καὶ τεσσαράκοντα· ἔστι δὲ αὐτοῦ ὁ καὶ ἀφύλακτον ἦν, τὸ μεταξὺ τοῦ τε μακροῦ καὶ τοῦ Φαληρικοῦ· τὰ δὲ μακρὰ τείχη πρὸς τὸν Πειραιᾶ τεσσαράκοντα σταδίων, ὧν τὸ ἔξωθεν ἐτηρεῖτο· καὶ τοῦ Πειραιῶς ξὺν Μουνυχίᾳ ἑξήκοντα μὲν σταδίων ὁ απας περίβολος, τὸ δὲ ἐν φυλακῇ ὃν ἦν ἥμισυ τούτου.—Thucyd. l. 2. c. 13.

rise of mount Anchesmus, even after making a suitable deduction for the windings of the ramparts, which it is evident that Thucydides has included in estimating the circuit both of the asty and of the maritime city: as, indeed, it would be natural to do under any circumstances where a calculation of the force necessary to line a certain length of rampart was under consideration.

Hence it appears probable that the northern extremity of the asty reached to the foot of mount Anchesmus; that to the westward its walls followed the small brook which terminates in the marshy ground of the Academy, until they met the point where we still see the ancient foundations near Dipylum: and that to the eastward they met the Ilissus a little below the church of the Holy Confessors (τῶν ἁγίων ὁμολογητῶν), or, according to the vulgar idiom, the church of Mologhitádhes.

That such was really the extent and direction of the ancient walls, there can be little doubt, when we add to what has just been stated, some evidence which has already been adduced in a former section. On turning to page 145, and the three following, the reader will find the authorities and arguments which prove that the Lyceium was situated on the banks of the Ilissus, about six hundred yards above the

church of Stavromenos Petros, or precisely at the place where now stands the church of Mologhitádhes. As it appears, therefore, from the authorities adduced in the pages referred to, that the entrance of the Lyceium was immediately opposite to the city gate, called Diocharis, we have an undoubted proof that the walls must have extended nearly to the church of Mologhitádhes.

The circumference of the space comprehended within the walls of Athens, the longomural inclosure and the maritime city, is above sixteen English miles, without taking into the reckoning the windings of the sea-coast, or of the ramparts of the asty. The sum total of the length of the walls, following those windings, could hardly have been less than nineteen English miles.

In the important passage of Thucydides, already referred to, he informs us that the whole peribolus of Peiræeus, including Munychia, measured sixty stades; that the northern Long Wall was forty stades in length, and the southern thirty-five stades; and that the peribolus of the city itself was forty-three stades, without reckoning the distance between the extremities of the Long Walls[1].

[1] As the Athenians at the period referred to had ample

In ascertaining from these data the periphery in stades of the space inclosed by the fortifications of the asty, of the longomural city, and of the maritime demi, it is obvious that we must first deduct from sixty stades, or the circuit of maritime Athens, the distance between the two extremities of the Long Walls, or rather the interval between the two projecting points of the hill of Phalerum, where the Long Walls join the Peiraic peninsula; for it cannot be doubted that Thucydides, by the words, τοῦ Πειραιῶς ξὺν Μουνυχίᾳ ὁ ἅπας περίβολος, meant the whole circuit of the Peiraic peninsula, including that interval as a part of it. This distance is seven hundred English yards, equal to about three stades and a half: the account, therefore, of the whole

employment for their land forces, and were obliged to make the most of their garrison, they manned only the most assailable parts of their walls. These parts were half the peribolus of the maritime city, the northern Long Wall, and all the asty, except the interval between the Long Walls (Thucyd. ibid.). The garrisoned half of the maritime city was, of course, the land side; its circuit was about equal to that of the sea front, which the naval superiority of the Athenians allowed them to leave unguarded. For the same reason they left ungarrisoned the Phaleric Long Wall, which could not easily be attacked but by a maritime descent to the eastward.

circumference of the city, according to Thucydides, will stand thus:

	Stades.
The Asty, *minus* the distance between the extremities of the Long Walls . . .	43
The Long Walls	75
The maritime city, *minus* the distance between the Long Walls	$56\frac{1}{7}$
Total	$174\frac{1}{7}$[1]

[1] Dion Chrysostom, in a passage of his sixth oration, which has been cited in a preceding page, states the circuit of Athens to be two hundred stades; but his authority is not worth a moment's consideration, compared with that of Thucydides, confirmed as he is by actual measurement. Dionysius of Halicarnassus (Antiq. Roman. l. 4, p. 670, Reiske) remarks that the walls of Athens were not much less in circumference than those of Rome, which agrees very well with Olympiodorus (ap. Phot. Biblioth. p. 197), who informs us that a measurement having been made of the Roman walls about the time of the first invasion of the Goths, by a geometrician of the name of Ammon, the circuit was found to be twenty-one Roman miles. Pliny (l. 3, c. 5) states the circuit of the walls of Rome at twenty-three miles and two hundred paces. By Plutarch (in Nicia) we are informed that the circumference of Syracuse was not less than that of Athens, and Strabo confirms the same fact, by observing, that Syracuse was a hundred and eighty stades in circuit. By means of the existing vestiges of the walls of Syracuse, the circuit of the ancient city was determined (in the course of a military survey, made during the late war, under the direction of Lieutenant-colonel Thackeray, of the royal en-

The length of the itinerary stade, resulting from the equation of nineteen English miles with a hundred and seventy-four stades and a half, is thirty feet less than that of the stade which was in use at a later period of time[1]; but

gineers,) to have been fifteen English miles; which, including the flexures of the ramparts, will give not less than nineteen miles of wall; because a larger addition for those flexures is required at Syracuse than at Athens, where not much less than half the circuit runs in right lines. Both Strabo and Plutarch, therefore, are nearly correct in their assertions. It is almost unnecessary to remark, that the equality of circuit in Rome, Syracuse, and Athens, relates to their periphery only, and not to their superficial contents, and capacity of containing population. Rome was circular, Syracuse triangular, and Athens consisted of two circular cities, joined by a street of four miles in length,—a figure, the superficies of which was not more than the fourth part of that of a city of the same circumference, but consisting, like Rome, of one great circle. It is to be observed also, that the suburbs of Rome were at least equal to the city itself, whereas Athens and Syracuse had very small suburbs.

[1] $\frac{19 \times 5280}{174{\cdot}5} = 575$ English feet: whereas the Greek stade in the time of the Roman emperors appears from the following data to have been estimated at six hundred and five English feet. 1. The stade was equal to six hundred and twenty-five Roman feet (Plin. Nat. Hist. l. 2, c. 23), which measure is confirmed by Strabo (p. 322), who informs us that the Roman mile (of five thousand Roman feet) was considered equal to eight stades. 2. The Roman foot, used in the time of the emperors, was to the English as nine hundred and sixty-eight to a thousand (Raper in the Philos. Transactions,

even with this shorter stade we find that the walls of Athens must have advanced as far as the foot of mount Anchesmus. We may safely conclude, therefore, that the extent of the asty on the north, the only part where the direction of the ancient walls can be doubtful, is such as has been deduced from other evidence.

The following are the names of the gates of the asty or city of Athens, which occur in ancient history: Dipylum (otherwise called Thriasiæ, or Sacræ, or Cerameicæ), Diomeiæ, Diocharis, Melitides, Peiraicæ, Acharnicæ, Itoniæ, Hippades, Heriæeæ.

Besides the traces which still exist of Dipylum, and of the Melitides and Peiraicæ, there are some remains also of a gate near the fountain Calirrhoe, which probably opened into the road leading to the demi in the southern side

Vol. 51, p. 774). Therefore the stade at that time was $= \frac{968}{1000}$ of 625 = 605 English feet. It appears from Strabo (ibid.) that Polybius made use of an intermediate stade, one-twenty-fourth part less than that of which eight made a Roman mile, and equal, therefore, to five hundred and eighty English feet in length. I may add, that in almost every instance in which I have had an opportunity of comparing the distances in ancient authors with the actual measurements, I have had occasion to remark, that Herodotus and Thucydides made use of a shorter stade than that which was in use among the authors who wrote in the time of the Roman empire.

of Hymettus, and to Paralia and Sunium; but the name of this gate is very uncertain.

Sufficient reasons have already been given for placing Dipylum at the end of the Sacred Way, Diomeiæ opposite the entrance of the suburban gymnasium, called Cynosarges, and Diocharis opposite the entrance of the Lyceium. Some arguments have also been offered for placing the Melitides and the Peiraicæ in the situations marked in the plan.

There can be little doubt that the gate called Acharnicæ, having derived that name from its leading to the demus of Acharnæ, the situation of which was certainly at or near the modern Menídhi, was about the spot where the modern road to that village cuts the line of the ancient walls.

As for the Itoniæ, there is reason to believe that it was about half way between the Ilissus and the foot of the hill of Museium, in the position, where the road leading direct to Phalerum from the modern Inté-Kapesi, or Ἀρβανιτικὴ πόρτα, or Albanian gate, cuts the line of the ancient walls. For we learn from Plato, that the Itoniæ was near the sepulchral column of the Amazon, and that this monument stood a little within the gate[1]. Now, at the gate which terminated the road to Athens from Phalerum

[1] Ὡς δὲ θᾶττον τὴν παρὰ τὸ τεῖχος ἤειμεν, ταῖς Ἰτωνίαις

Pausanias places, just within the city, the sepulchre of Antiope, the Amazon[1]. There seems little doubt, therefore, that the μνῆμα Ἀντιόπης of Pausanias is the same as the Ἀμαζόνις στήλη of Plato, and consequently that the gate which terminated the road leading from Phalerum was the Itoniæ. Thus the Phaleric road (ὁδὸς Φαληρικὴ, as Pausanias calls it in another place[2]) led across the plain, parallel to the southern Long Wall,

(πλησίον γὰρ ᾧκει τῶν πυλῶν πρὸς τῇ Ἀμαζονίδι στήλῃ) καταλαμβάνομεν αὐτὸν.—Plato, in Axiocho, tom. 3, p. 364, ed. Serr.

Socrates went out of the city for the purpose of walking to Cynosarges: when he had arrived at the Ilissus, Clinias, who was exercising on the bank, called to Socrates, and asked him to go and visit his sick father, Axiochus. They then turned back by the road under the walls, and entered the portæ Itoniæ, near which Axiochus lived. Nothing can be more satisfactory than the topography of this passage; and though the interest of it may be diminished by the doubts which rest upon the authenticity of the dialogue, as a work of Plato, it is not the less serviceable as a topographical evidence.

[1] Ἔστι δὲ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν ἐς Ἀθήνας ἐκ Φαληροῦ ναὸς Ἥρας..... Ἐσελθόντων δὲ ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἔστιν Ἀντιόπης μνῆμα Ἀμαζόνος.—Pausan. Attic. c. 1, 2.

That Pausanias, by the words ἐσελθόντων ἐς, meant *within* the gate, seems clear, from his using the same words in the next page, in speaking of the Pompeium at the entrance of the gate leading from the Peiræeus; for the Pompeium was certainly within the city.

[2] Phocic. c. 35.

and entered the city at the quarter of Limnæ, and the parts adjacent to the Odeium. It corresponded to the Hamaxitus[1], on the other side of the Long Walls, which led from port Peiræeus through the Peiraic gate into the quarter of Cerameicus; but it differed from that road in passing at a greater distance from the Long Walls: and hence we perceive the reason why Pausanias mentions the Long Walls in speaking of the former route, but takes no notice of them in describing the Phaleric road.

Of the Hippades, we only know that it was the gate, on the outside of which was the sepulchre of the family of the orator Hyperides[2]. As Philostratus makes mention also of a place in the Cerameicus, called Ἱππεῖς (the Horsemen)[3], it seems

[1] See page 92, and the passage from Xenoph. there cited. This road seems to have been commonly called ἡ ἐς Πειραιᾶ; and I am inclined to think that the street between the Long Walls, and afterwards the road between the ruins, was called the Ὁδὸς Θησεῖα, of which mention is made by Propertius (l. 3. eleg. 20, v. 22).

> Inde ubi Piræei capient me littora portus,
> Scandam ego Theseæ brachia longa viæ.

[2] Τοὺς δὲ οἰκείους τὰ ὀστα λαβόντας θάψαι τε ἅμα τοῖς γονεῦσι πρὸ τῶν Ἱππάδων πυλῶν, ὡς φησὶν Ἡλιόδωρος ἐν τρίτῳ περὶ μνημάτων.—Plutarch de X. Rhet. in Hyperid.

[3] . . . . τὸ τῶν τεχνιτῶν βουλευτήριον, ὃ δὴ ᾠκοδόμηται παρὰ τὰς τοῦ Κεραμεικοῦ πύλας, οὐ πόρρω τῶν Ἱππέων.—Philost. in Philagr.

probable that the place derived this appellation from some equestrian statues, which gave name also to the neighbouring city gates. Upon this supposition the gate may have opened from the inner into the outer Cerameicus; for the tombs of so illustrious a family as that of Hyperides were most likely to have been situated in that quarter. It is not improbable, therefore, that the Hippades may have been the gate between Dipylum and the Peiraic, of which some vestiges exist on the north side of mount Lycabettus.

From the great distance between Dipylum and the Acharnicæ, and between the Acharnicæ and Diomeiæ, it may be conjectured that there was a gate in each of those intervals: and as all this part of the site was occupied by burying-grounds, it is possible that one of the two intermediate gates was the Heriææ, as this name seems to imply a gate leading to sepulchres.

There was still another situation in the ancient peribolus, where there must have been a gate. This was at the end of the causeway, which led over the bridge of the Ilissus into the Stadium. But of the name of this gate, no trace of evidence, as far as I can discover, is found in ancient history.

Athens was surrounded on every side with an immense cemetery.

On the north-west and north from the north-

ern Long Wall to mount Anchesmus, there was a continued succession of sepulchres, beginning from the city walls.

The excavations in search of sepulchral antiquities, which have been successfully made on the southern side of the hill of Museium, show that there were burying grounds on the outside of the southern Long Wall, similar to those which we learn from a passage of Plato[1], to have existed on the outside of the northern Long Wall.

Along the eastern side of the Asty, from the south-eastern angle of the city walls, on the bank of the Ilissus, to the eastern side of mount Anchesmus, the suburban demi of Agræ and of the Gardens, and the gymnasia of Lyceium and Cynosarges, were interposed between the city and the cemeteries, which thus removed to some distance from the walls, were probably less extensive in that quarter than on the opposite side of Athens.

[1] De Repub. l. 4. See the passage in page 91.

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

NOTE I.

On the Population of Athens.

ALL Athenians, more than twenty years of age, and born of parents who were Attic citizens, enjoyed the right of voting in the general assembly and the other honours of citizenship[1]. It is obvious that such being the only requisites, the number of citizens was likely to increase during the flourishing ages of the republic: and this we find to have been the case.

There is some difficulty in ascertaining the population of Athens. By a census of Pericles[2] the number of Athenians entitled to the rights of citizenship was confined to 14,040; 5000 were upon this occasion rejected as νόθοι, and degraded into the class of slaves.

Demosthenes[3] reckons the Athenians who had a voice in the government at 20,000; according to the census of Demetrius of Phalerum, the number of citizens was 21,000[4]. About this time the rights of citizenship were

[1] S. Petit. Comm. in Leg. Attic. l. 2, tit. 4.

[2] Plutarch, in Pericl.

[3] Demosth. in Aristog. 1, p. 785. Reiske.

[4] Ctesicles ap. Athen. l. 6, c. 20. Casaub.

refused to those who did not possess a certain property[1]; and in the time of Phocion we are told that paupers and other persons answering to the νόθοι of the census of Pericles were so numerous that 12,000 were ejected from the city[2]. Upon the whole, we may reckon the number of Attic citizens at 20,000, in the flourishing times of the republic: and such appears to have been the general calculation in round numbers[3]. It is probable, therefore, that both Herodotus[4] and Aristophanes[5], in estimating the Athenian citizens at 30,000, meant to include the whole free male population of Athens; in both instances, indeed, the number 30,000 is mentioned in such a manner as to show that the calculation is stretched to the utmost, and is not stated with any view to accuracy.

It is evident, from the laws of Solon, which classed the higher order of Athenian citizens by the number of medimni of corn produced upon their estates, that the upper class of the inhabitants of Athens, like those of great cities in other civilized countries, consisted chiefly of persons whose property was in land, and whose residence during a part of the year was in the country[6]. As every Athenian citizen was enrolled in one of the hundred and seventy-four demi of Attica, only a small

[1] Hermogenis Partitiones Rhetoricæ, Cap. de Translatione—J. Poll. l. 8, c. 9.

[2] Plutarch, in Phocion.—Diod. Sic. l. 18, c. 66.

[3] Hesych. in Ὁμοῦ.—Liban. Declam. 16.

[4] Herodot. l. 5, c. 97.

[5] Aristoph. Eccles. v. 1124.

[6] The partiality of the Athenians for a country-life may be inferred from the great number of edifices in the plain of Athens, and in the demi (see Liv. l. 31. c. 26—and Pausan. Attic. c. 31). And it is expressly noticed by Thucydides (l. 2, c. 14).

portion of which were in the city itself, the number 20,000 comprehended all the citizens of Attica, having the right of voting in the general assembly. The whole population of this class, therefore, must have been about 60,000.

We are told that there were 10,000 μετοικοι, or resident aliens in Attica[1], not having the right of Attic citizens, and paying a tax called μετοικιον[2]: and that the total number of slaves in Attica was reckoned at 400,000[3]. The former number appears to contain the male metæci only; but in the latter the whole number of slaves seems to be included. It clearly appears, also, that there must at all times have been a large body of persons of Attic blood not enjoying the rights of citizenship.

The number of 400,000 slaves has been considered excessive; but it does not appear disproportioned to that of the Athenian citizens, when we consider that all the agricultural, mining, and menial labour of Attica was performed by slaves, as well as the greater part of that of the public works, and of the private establishments of commerce, and of trades and manufactures, even to the workshop of the statuary and the potter. The large proportion of slaves in the Greek republics is a fact well known. The little republic of Ægina is said at one time to have possessed 470,000 slaves[4]; the Corinthians had 460,000[5]. We are told by Athenæus that several *myriads* of them worked in the silver-mines of Attica. Those employed in the mines of Laurium once seized the castle of Sunium,

[1] Ctesicles, ap. Athen. ibid.

[2] Meurs. Attic. Lect. l. 1, c. 9.

[3] Ctesicles, ibid.

[4] Aristot. ap. Athen. ibid.—Schol. Pind. Olymp. 9.

[5] Epitimæus, ap. Athen. ibid.

in imitation of a general insurrection in Sicily[1], in which the slaves destroyed were innumerable. The quarries of marble in Attica employed also a great number of slaves. It was not rare in Greece to meet with individuals possessing 1000 slaves. The celebrated Nicias let that number to a person, who undertook the working of a mine in Laurium[2]. There is no reason to think, therefore, that the slaves of Attica are over-rated at 400,000; which number bears nearly the same proportion to the free inhabitants of Attica as the slaves to the free people in our West Indian islands. The entire population of Attica being near half a million in a surface of 560 square miles, the density was near 900 to a square mile, which is about one-fourth of that of Middlesex, and the double of that of Lancashire.

The chief difficulty in calculating the population of Athens consists in estimating the proportion of Attic citizens, of Metæci, and of slaves to be assigned to the city itself. In regard to the citizens, it will probably be near the truth to suppose that two-thirds resided in the city, and as the great majority of slaves were employed in mining and agriculture, we can hardly allow more than one slave to each free person in the city. The calculation will then stand as follows:

Two-thirds of 60,000 citizens, ...	40,000
Two-thirds of 20,000 metæci, about . . .	13,000
	53,000
As many slaves	53,000
	106,000
Paupers and others of Athenian race not having rights of citizenship	10,000
	116,000

[1] Posidonius, ap. Athen. ibid. [2] Xenoph. de Vectigal. c. 4.

Demosthenes[1] observes, that 400,000 medimni of bread-corn were brought to Attica from Pontus, and about as much more from other markets (ἐμπόρια), in all 800,000 medimni. Two-thirds of this quantity, or 530,000 medimni, were by law carried into the city[2], which, to a population of 116,000, would supply between seventeen and eighteen ounces of bread per diem to each person.

[1] Adv. Leptin. p. 466, Reiske.

[2] Harpocrat. in Ἐπιμελητὴς Ἐμπορίου.

NOTE TO THE END OF SECTION I.

Of the Buildings, &c. not mentioned in that Section.

J. Meursius, in his Athenæ Atticæ, and Lectiones Atticæ, has collected evidence of the existence of several other places at Athens, which I shall here briefly enumerate. In the Cerameicus were the Agrippeium, or theatre of Agrippa[1], and the palæstra of Taureas[2]. There were two other palæstræ also in Athens, called the Palæstræ of Sibyrtius[3] and of Hippocrates[4]. The Stoæ of the Thracians[5] and of Attalus[6] we may suppose to have been in the Ceramic Agora. It was probably near the latter that stood the colossal statues of Attalus and Eumenes, which afterwards received inscriptions in honour of Marcus Antonius[7].

The Agora was divided into markets, streets, and porticos, which in general derived their names from the objects sold in them. Such were the στοὰ τῶν ἀλφίτων (flour portico); the ἀγορὰ γυναικεῖα[8], or shops for goods peculiarly adapted to the use of women; the ἀγορὰ σπειρόπωλις or ἱματιόπωλις[9] (for the sale of ready-made clothes); the ἀγορα

[1] Philostr. in Alexand. Sophist. et in Philagr.
[2] Plato, in Charmid.—Liban. declam. 9.
[3] Plutarch. Paral. in Alcibiad.
[4] Plutarch. de X Rhet. in Isocrat.
[5] Harpocrat. in Ἑρμαῖ.
[6] Athen. l. 5, c. 13, Casaub.
[7] Plutarch. Paral. in M. Anton.
[8] J. Poll. l. 10, c. 2.—Theophr. Charact. de Adulat.
[9] J. Poll. l. 7, c. 18.

ἰχθυόπωλις[1] (for fish). But some divisions of the Agora received their names from people, as the ἀγορὰ Ἀργείων[2], ἀγορὰ Κερκώπων; the latter, which was noted for the sale of stolen goods, was near the famous tribunal, called, from its being held in the open air, Ἡλιαία[3]. Another market was called Θεῶν ἀγορὰ[4]; but its use is not specified by the authors who mention it. The different divisions of the markets for provisions were commonly indicated by the name of each article preceded by the preposition εἰς, as εἰς τοὺς ἵππους, the horse market; εἰς τοὔψον, the cooks' shops; εἰς τὰ μεσκόνια, the place where asses flesh was sold; εἰς τὰ μῦρα, εἰς τὰς χύτρας, εἰς τὰ σκόροδα, εἰς τὰ κρόμμυα, εἰς τὰ ἀρώματα, εἰς τὸν χλωρὸν τύρον, εἰς τὰ κάρυα, εἰς τὰ μῆλα, &c. were the denominations of several parts of the Agora, where ointments, pottery, garlic, onions, perfumes, fish, cheese, walnuts, apples, &c. were sold. The booksellers shops were called βιβλιοθήκαι; and the expression εἰς τὰ βιβλία was not used[5]. Besides the foregoing, there was in the Agora

[1] Plutarch de X Rhet. in Hyperid.

[2] Hesych. in voce.

[3] Eustath. in Odyss. B. p. 74. et in K. p. 413. ed. Basil.—Galen. in Hippocrat. Epidem. 3, com. 3.

[4] Hesych. in Θεῶν ἀγορὰ.—Aristid. in Orat. in Minerv. et in Orat. Cyzic.

[5] J. Poll. l. 9, c. 5.—l. 10, c. 2.—Theophr. Char. περὶ ἐδελυρίας.—Hesych. in μεσκόνια.

The divisions of a bazar in Greece are indicated very nearly in the manner described by Julius Pollux in the provision market of ancient Athens. The same mode of using the prepositions, and, with a few slight corruptions, the same words, are in general still preserved. Στὰ κρομμύδια, στὰ καρύδια, στὰ σκόρδα, στὰ μῆλα, στὸ χλωρὸ τυρί, will conduct the travellers to the shops for onions, walnuts, garlic, apples, and new cheese, in a modern Greek town, as well as the expressions mentioned by Pollux would have done in ancient Athens.

a *halle*, or round building, called Κύκλος, where slaves, and vases, and fish, and other commodities, were sold[1].

Some of the streets of Athens derived their names from the artizans who practised their trades in them, and who thus appear to have been disposed very much in the same manner as the trades of a modern Oriental town. One of the streets was called ἡ τῶν Ἑρμογλυφείων, the street of the makers of Mercuries[2]; another ἡ τῶν κιβωτοποιῶν, the street of the Cabinet-makers[3]. These were probably in the Agora, as was also the street of Vesta, ἡ Ἑστία ὁδός; for it was near the three-headed Mercury of the Cerameicus[4]. Some of the streets derived their names from the δῆμοι through which they passed—as the street of Colyttus[5]. We find mention also of a street of the ants, ἡ τῶν μυρμηκῶν[6]; and of the third street, ἡ τρίτη ῥύμη[7], but without any indication of their locality.

Among the sanctuaries not mentioned by Pausanias, we find the following: 1. The temple of the Hours (τὸ Ὡρῶν ἱερὸν), in which was an altar of Bacchus Ὀρθιος, and another of the Nymphs[8]. 2. The temple of the People and Graces (τὸ τέμενος τοῦ Δημοῦ καὶ τῶν Χαρίτων), in which stood a brazer statue of Hircanus, chief priest of the Jews[9]. 3. Τὸ ἱερὸν Μηνύτου Ἡρακλέος, the temple of

[1] J. Poll. l. 7, c. 2.—l. 10, c. 2.—Hesych. in Κύκλος.

[2] Plato, in Sympos.—Plutarch. de Gen. Sacr.

[3] Plutarch. ibid.

[4] See page 99, note 1.

[5] Himer. ap. Phot. Biblioth. p. 1140. Hoeschel.

[6] Hesych. in Μυρμηκῶν.

[7] J. Poll. l. 9, c. 5.

[8] Philochor. ap. Athen. l. 2, c. 2.

[9] Joseph. Antiq. Jud. l. 4, c. 16.—According to the Athenians there were only two Hours, and two Graces; the former named

Hercules, founded by Sophocles, with the epithet of Menytes; because the god had pointed out to him in a dream the place where was hidden a crown, or patera, which had been stolen from one of the sanctuaries of Hercules[1]. 4. The Pherrephattium, a sanctuary of Proserpine in the Agora, not very distant from the Leocorium[2]. There were also sanctuaries of Diana Αυσιζωνος[3], and sanctuaries containing statues of Venus ψιθυρος, of Cupid, with the same epithet, and of Hermes ψιθυριστης[4]. There was a sanctuary also of Mercury Hegemonius, or leader of the blind[5]. 5. The Phratrium, which contained a statue of Jupiter Phratrius, and of several other deities, and which was a place of common worship for the promotion of a friendly union among all the Athenian tribes[6].

Of the heroa or tombs, altars or sanctuaries, of the ancient Athenian heroes, we find mention made of the following:—The altar of Eudanemus was near the Metroum, and the ascent to the Acropolis[7]. The sepulchre

Thallo and Carpo; the latter named Auxo and Hegemone (Pausan. Bœot. c 35). Socrates, in his statues of the Graces, in the Propylæa, appears to have adopted the Ετεοκλεῖοι χάριτες, from Orchomenus, which were three in number.

[1] Schol. Sophocl. in vitâ.—Cicero de Divin. l. 1, c. 25.—Hesych. in Μηνύτης.

[2] Demosth. adv. Conon. p. 1259, Reiske.

[3] Schol. in Apollon. Rhod. l. 1, v. 288.

[4] Demosth. adv. Neær. p. 1358.—Harpocrat. in ψιθυριστης.

[5] Schol. in Aristoph. Plut. v. 1160.

[6] J. Poll. l. 1, c. 1.—L. 3, c. 4.

[7] Arrian de Exped. Alexand. l. 3, c. 16.—Eudanemus, otherwise Angelus, was the son of Neptune. Hesych. in Εὐδάνεμος.—Pausan. Achaic. c. 4.

of Solon was a little within the city walls, near one of the gates[1]. The sanctuary of Hesychus, from whom were derived the Hesychidæ, or priests of the Semnæ (furies), was near the Cimonian wall of the Acropolis, on the outside of the nine gates[2], consequently not far from the tomb of Talos. The temenus of Æacus was in the Agora[3]. There were heroa also of Ægeus[4], of Phorbas[5], of Stephanephorus[6], of Calamites[7], and of many others. That of Ægeus may perhaps have been near the Delphinium: for he is said to have founded that temple, and to have resided there; of which there was a memorial in the appellation given to a statue of Hermes standing to the east of the Delphinium. It was called the Hermes at the gates of Ægeus[8]. The Socrateium, or heroum of Socrates, was on the road from Peiræeus to the city[9].

Near the temple of Theseus was the place called the Horcomosium, from the treaty between Theseus and the

[1] Ælian. Var. Hist. l. 8, c. 16.

[2] Παρὰ τὸ Κιμώνιον ἐκτὸς τῶν ἐννέα πυλῶν.—Polemo de Eratosth. ap. Schol. Œdip. Colon. v. 489.—See Meurs. Attic. Lect. l. 5, c. 32.

The nine gates were probably a succession of barriers on the ascent to the Propylæa, including perhaps the five gates of that building. We find, from a passage of an Athenian antiquary, preserved by Suidas, that the ancient Pelasgic fortress upon the Acropolis was also said to have had nine gates. See page 279, note 3.

[3] Herodot. l. 5, c. 89.—Plutarch. Paral. in Thes.—Hesych. in Αἰακοντεῖον.

[4] Harpocrat. et Suid. in Αἰγεῖον.

[5] Andocid. de Myster. p. 30.—Andron. ap. Harpocrat. in Φορβαντεῖον. Phorbas, king of the Curetes, was slain by Erechtheus.

[6] Harpocrat. in Στεφανηφόρος.

[7] Demosth. in Coron. p. 270.

[8] Plutarch. Paral. in Thes.

[9] Marian. in vitâ Procli.

Amazons having been there sworn to[1]. The Amazoneium must also have been on the same side of the town; for an author quoted by Plutarch relates, that when the Amazons attacked Athens, they were drawn up with their right near the Pnyx, and with their left at the place still called, in Plutarch's time, the Amazoneium[2]. We have already seen that Plutarch speaks of a place called Heptachalcum, near the walls between the Peiraic and the Sacred Gates[3]. The Meticheium, which received its name from the architect who built it, was one of the Athenian courts of judicature[4]. The Thesmophoreium was a συσσίτιον, where the women, called Thesmophoriazusæ, were lodged and boarded, in undergoing a particular discipline previous to their employment in the celebration of the rites of the Thesmophoræ (Ceres and Proserpine)[5]. It is uncertain where the ἀργυροκοπεῖον[6], or mint, was situated; but, in a state so celebrated for its silver coin as Athens, it must have been a building of considerable importance, and was very probably in the Acropolis.

There were several ἀρχεῖα, archives, or places for the deposit and custody of official papers, &c. One of these was the Metroum, where, as we have already seen[7], were deposited the written laws of the state. The Lyceium contained the archives of the Polemarch, or third Ar-

[1] Plutarch. Paral. in Thes.

[2] Plutarch. Paral. in Thes.—Stephen. et Suid. in Ἀμαζονεῖον.

[3] Plutarch. Paral. in Sylla.

[4] Hesych. in Μητίχου τέμενος.—J. Poll. l. 8, c. 10.—Phot. Lex. in Μητιοχεῖον.

[5] Hesych. in Πρυτανεῖον.—Meurs. Attic. Lect. l. 4, c 21.

[6] Antiph. ap. Harpocrat. in voce.

[7] See Section I.

chon[1]. The Parasitium was an ἀρχεῖον, where the parasites, who in the origin held an honourable situation, deposited the first-fruits of the sacred corn[2]. There are said to have been three hundred and sixty Λέσχαι, or places where the poor were allowed to warm themselves in cold weather, and to pass the night[3]. As to the hot baths (βαλανεῖα), although no author has made mention of any magnificent buildings of this kind, such as the Romans constructed, it is manifest, from what is incidentally said of them, that baths, both public and private, were numerous in Athens. They were circular, with a vaulted roof, like most of those in Turkey[4]. There was one near the statue of Anthemocritus, which stood at the beginning of the sacred way to Eleusis, on the outside of Dipylum[5]. The βάραθρον, or ὄρυγμα, was a deep excavation, where those were confined who were condemned to death[6]; whence the expression, ὁ ἐπὶ τῷ ὀρύγματι, for the executioner[7]. The Ἐξαίρεσις was a place where bales of goods were deposited[8]. The monument called Ἵππου καὶ Κόρης, was in memory of the cruelty of an Athenian archon, Hippomenes, who had exposed his daughter, Limone, to be torn in pieces by a horse, which

[1] Hesych. in Ἐπιλύκιον.

[2] J. Poll. l. 6, c. 7.—Athen. l. 6, c. 6, Casaub.

[3] Procl. in Hesiod ἔργων ε.

[4] Athen. l. 11, c. 14.

[5] Isæus, ap. Harpocrat. in Ἀνθεμόκριτος.—Philip. in Epist. ad Athen.—Pausan. Attic. c. 36.

[6] Stephan. Hesych. Suid. in Βάραθρον.—Harpocrat. in Ὄρυγμα.

[7] J. Poll. l. 8, c. 7.—Dinarch. adv. Demosth. p. 46, Reiske.—Lycurg. adv. Leocrat. p. 221.

[8] Etymol. Mag. in Ἐξαίρεσις.

he had kept without food for that purpose[1]. Blaute was a place where a shoemaker had dedicated a sandal (βλαύτη)[2].

Harpocration and Hesychius give evidence of a treasury, which was adorned with paintings, said to have been by the hand of Polygnotus[3].

We find mention made of several other remarkable paintings at Athens, most of which may possibly have been removed before the time of Pausanias, like the celebrated Helen of Zeuxis, which had been transported from the στόα τῶν ἀλφίτων at Athens[4] to the portico of Philip at Rome[5].

Athenion of Maroneia painted an assemblage of Athenian women, called πολυγύναικον: and a celebrated picture of a horse and groom[6].

There was also a much admired picture of a combatant, armed with a shield, by Antidorus, a disciple of Euphranor[7], and a picture of a flute-player, dedicated by Thrasippus, when he supported the choragic expenses of Ecphrantides[8], and there was a picture of an elephant[9], by an unknown artist. It is probable also, although not certain, that several of the other productions of great painters, enumerated by Pliny, were at Athens in his time;—particularly the battle of Phlius, and the victory

[1] Heraclid. Pont. de Polit. Græc.—Suid. in Ἱππομένης

[2] J. Poll. l. 7, c. 22.

[3] Harpocrat. in Πολύγνωτος.—Hesych. in Θήσαυρος.

[4] Eustath. ad Il. Α. p. 815, ed. Basil.

[5] Plin. Nat. Hist. l. 35, c. 10.

[6] Plin. Nat. Hist. l. 35, c. 11.

[7] Ibid.

[8] Aristot. Polit. l. 8, c. 6.

[9] Themist. de Mem. et Remin.

of the Athenians by Pamphilus[1], and some of the works of the painter Aristolaus[2]. I have already noticed the picture of the ships by Protogenes in the vestibule of the Parthenon, which appears both from Pliny and Cicero[3] to have been of the greatest merit.

Of the celebrated statues which once adorned Athens, but which were probably no longer there in the time of Pausanias, I have already had occasion, in the ninth section, to speak of a few which stood in the Acropolis.

In the Ceramic agora was a brazen statue of Chabrias, represented kneeling, with his spear couched, and his shield upon his knees, this being the position in which he ordered his phalanx to throw themselves, when, by this new and unexpected movement, they prevented a charge of Lacedæmonians under Agesilaus, near Thebes[4]. Phocion also was honoured with a brazen statue; but its position is not mentioned by Plutarch.

The following statues also were at Athens, and much renowned. The heifer, in brass, by Myron[5], and the Iacchus, in marble. The mares, in brass, dedicated by Cimon in memory of the mares with which he had obtained the victory at Olympia[6], and a congregation of satyrs by Lysippus[7].

It is unnecessary to collect the names of those statues of

[1] Plin. Nat. Hist. l. 35, c 10.

[2] Plin. Nat. Hist. l. 35, c. 11.

[3] Plin. Nat. Hist. l. 35, c. 10.—Cicer. Verrin. 4, c. 60.

[4] Corn. Nep. in Chabria.

[5] Cicer. Verrin. 4. c. 60. The heifer was a favourite subject among epigrammatists both Greek and Latin. See the Anthologia, l. 4, c. 7; and Auson. Epig. 58, et seq.

[6] Ælian. Var. Hist. l. 9, c. 32.

[7] Plin. Nat. Hist. l. 34, c. 8.

obscure deities, or of persons of little or transient note, which occur in ancient history. Each tribe and demus, and even each family, had its protecting deity, to whom they reared statues and altars, and to whom they generally applied an epithet derived from their own names, or from some peculiar circumstance or superstition attached to the worship. For some of these appellations, see Meursius, Athen. Attic. l. 2. c. 13, 14.

Dinarchus, in his oration against Demosthenes (p. 83), makes mention of several brazen statues in the Agora, erected to persons, who probably did not long retain that honour any more than Demades, whose numerous statues were afterwards melted and made into chamber utensils[1]. To the flatterers and mistresses of Demetrius Poliorcetes, who had altars, statues, and divine honours[2], no greater respect was probably shown after the hour of their popularity had passed by.

[1] Plutarch. Polit. Præc.

[2] Demosth ap. Athen. l. 6, c. 13. Casaub.

NOTE TO PAGE 39.

Of the Temple of Theseus.

The temple of Theseus is a peripteral hexastyle with thirteen columns on the sides. It faces the east. The cell within measures forty feet in length, and twenty feet in breadth. It has a pronaus and a posticum, each of which is formed by a prolongation of the side walls of the cell, having two columns between the antæ: but the depth of the pronaus is greater than that of the posticum, and the depth of the portico of the pronaus is greater than that of the portico at the back of the temple; the two former measure together thirty-three feet, the two latter twenty-seven feet. The side porticoes of the temple are only six feet in breadth. The thirty-four columns of the peristyle, as well as the four in the two vestibules, are near three feet four inches in diameter at the base, and near nineteen feet high, with an intercolumniation of five feet four inches, except at the angles, where, as usual in the Doric order, the interval is made smaller, in order to bring the triglyphs to the angle, and at the same time not to offend the eye by the inequality of the metopes. The stylobate is formed of only two steps. The height of the temple, from the bottom of the stylobate to the summit of the pediment, is thirty-three feet and a half. The eastern or chief front only of the temple was adorned with sculptures. On the pediment of that front there remain holes for cramps of metal, to which statues were attached; but no such marks are found in the western pediment. In like manner, the ten metopes of the eastern front, and the four adjoining ones of either flank, are exclusively ornamented with sculptures; all

the other metopes are plain. Thus while it appears to have been the design of the architect of the Parthenon, by the equality of the pronaus and posticum, and of their respective porticos, as well as by the similarity of the statuary decorations, in the two fronts of that temple, to prevent all superior importance of the one front over the other: in the Theseium it was the architect's marked intention to render the eastern fronting of the temple as conspicuous as possible.

The roof of the cell of the Theseium is modern; the greater part of the beams and lacunaria of the porticoes are wanting, and the sculptures have been purposely defaced by the Turks. When the temple was converted into a Christian church, the two columns of the pronaus were removed to make room for the altar[1]. In other respects the temple is complete. It is formed entirely of Pentelic marble, and stands upon an artificial foundation, formed of large quadrangular blocks of ordinary limestone. At the north-western angle of the temple, where the hill, upon which the temple stands, is steep, six courses of the foundation now appear above ground, and this part of the foundation is gradually receiving so much injury from the effect of the rains, as to threaten the safety of this part of the building.

The sculptures of the Theseium are, upon the eighteen metopes already mentioned, upon a frize over the entrance of the pronaus, and upon another over that of the posticum. In offering an opinion, differing from that of Stuart in regard to some of these sculptures, it will be

[1] A large door was at the same time pierced in the western wall; when Athens was taken by the Turks, who were in the habit of riding into the churches on horseback, this door was closed, and a smaller one was made in the southern wall.

necessary previously to refer to the circumstances which attended the building of the temple.

Eight centuries after the death of Theseus the people of Athens suddenly became ashamed of the ingratitude of their ancestors towards their great benefactor, in driving him out of Athens, to die by violence in a foreign country; it was reported that his spectre had been seen fighting against the Medes at Marathon; and the Pythia directed the Athenians to remove his remains to Athens, and to honour him as a hero. His bones, with a brazen helmet and a sword lying beside them, were discovered in the island of Scyrus, by Cimon, son of Miltiades. They were received at Athens with processions and sacrifices; games and festivals were instituted in his honour; a heroum was erected to him on the Colonus Hippius, and a temple in the city[1]. This building was equalled in sanctity only by the Parthenon and Eleusinium[2], its sacred inclosure was so large as occasionally to serve as a place of military assembly[3]; and it enjoyed the privilege of an asylum[4], which had the effect of rendering it a prison to those who fled from justice[5]. It was built about four hundred and sixty-five years before Christ, or about thirty years before the Parthenon.

In honouring Theseus, the Athenians could not forget Hercules, who was the kinsman, friend, and companion

[1] Plutarch. in Thes. et Cimon.—Diodor. Sic. l. 4, c. 62.—Pausan. Attic. c. 17, 30.—Lacon. c. 3.

[2] Plutarch de Exil.

[3] Thucyd. l. 6, c. 61.

[4] Diod. Sic. ubi supra.—Plutarch. Paral. in Thes.—Hesych. et Etymol. Mag. in Θησεῖον.

[5] Etymol. ibid. et in Θησειότριψ.

of Theseus. Hercules had delivered Theseus from the chains of Aidoneus, king of Molossi; and in return, Theseus was said to have brought Hercules with him from Thebes to Athens, to be purified for the murder of his children. He then not only shared his property with Hercules, but gave up to him all the sacred places which had been conferred upon Theseus by the Athenians, changing all the Theseia of Attica, except four, into Heracleia[1]. The Hercules Furens of Euripides, which was written a few years after this temple was built, and which, like the temple itself, seems to have been intended to celebrate unitedly the virtues of the two heroes, introduces Theseus promising to Hercules that the Athenians should honour him with sculptured marbles, and thus seems to refer to the decorations of this very building. After alluding to the fact recorded by Plutarch, of the names of several Attic places having been changed from Theseium to Heracleium, he adds,

> ..... θανόντος δ' εὖτ' ἂν εἰς ἅδου μόλῃς,
> Θυσίαισι λαΐνοισι τ' ἐξογκώμασι
> Τίμιον ἀνάξει πᾶσ' Ἀθηναίων πόλις.

Thus it appears that if it was perfectly in harmony with the Athenian traditions to select the exploits of Hercules as well as those of Theseus for the sculptural decorations of the Theseium, it was equally so to give the most conspicuous situation to those of Hercules, as Theseus had yielded to him the first honours of his native country. We find, accordingly, that all the metopes in the *front* of the temple, which can be deciphered, relate to the labours of Hercules, and that all those on

[1] Philochor. ap. Plutarch, in Thes.

two flanks, which can be deciphered, relate to the labours of Theseus. In like manner, we find that the subject of the frize over the columns and antæ of the posticum, or *back* vestibule, was the most celebrated action of the life of Theseus, his contest with the Centaurs. It may fairly be presumed, therefore, that the pannel over the pronaus related to the exploits of Hercules. This composition is divided into three unequal portions by two parties of deities seated upon the rocks of Olympus[1]. Towards the southern end are seated Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva: a little to the spectator's right of the centre of the composition is a female deity seated between two males. Behind the latter is a hero, with a chlamys flying behind him, contending with a combatant, each of whose hands is employed in hurling an enormous mass of stone. The right arm of the former figure being deficient, it does not appear how he was armed; his left hand is employed in pushing back one of the rocks held by his opponent. Another hero is similarly engaged with an adversary, who, like the former, is armed with a mass of stone in either hand. A fifth figure lies dead at their feet. To the right of these are five figures, which Stuart supposed to have been intended to represent a triumph: the last figure seems to be erecting a trophy. Between the two parties of deities are eight figures, in the centre of whom one of supernatural size lies dead: they are all much defaced; but the work was evidently intended to represent a contest of men armed with stones against others armed with shields and swords.

[1] The reader is referred for the designs of the frize to Pars's drawings in Stuart's Antiquities, Vol. 3. pl. 15. et seq. or to the casts of the original marbles in the British Museum.

The dimensions of the prostrate figure in the middle compartment, and the weapons of the others, which are rocks beyond all proportion to the size of the combatants, leave little doubt that the subject of the whole composition is that which was so often described in the Athenian temples[1], namely, the gigantomachia, or battle of the giants, who were said to have hurled whole mountains against the gods, and to have been subdued chiefly through the exertions of Hercules[2]. As all the gods were supposed to have been engaged, or at least to have been present, upon this occasion, the six seated deities are probably intended by the sculptor for those of the highest rank, with whose dignity he may have thought it most consistent to describe them as present only, but not absolutely taking part in the combat. Apollo, Bacchus, Mars, and Mercury, we may suppose to be engaged together with Hercules in the action.

Behind Minerva, at the extremity of the frize, to the spectator's left is a group representing a young warrior, who binds the arms of a captive giant behind his back. The helmet upon the victor's head may perhaps be intended to characterise Mars.

In the combat of Centaurs and Lapithæ, which forms the subject of the frize of the posticum, we distinguish Theseus as the only one of the men who has slain his opponent. Micon had conferred the same distinction upon him in a painting which adorned one of the walls of the cell. We also recognize Cæneus, who, according to the fable related by Ovid, received from Neptune the gift of

[1] Plat. Euthyphr. p. 6, Serr.

[2] Apollod. l. 1, c. 6.—l. 2, c. 7.—Diod. Sic. l. 4, c. 15.—Sil. Ital. l. 17, v. 650.

being invulnerable by weapons, and who was overwhelmed by the rocks and trees which the Centaurs heaped upon him.

> Saxa trabesque super totosque involvite montes
> .....et erit pro vulnere pondus[1].

Cæneus is represented half sunk into the earth, while an enormous mass of rock is suspended over his head, and is held up by a Centaur on each side[2].

The sculptures of the two frizes of the Theseium are in a much more prominent relief than the frize of the Parthenon, and they are works of a still higher degree of merit. As Micon, who painted the walls of the temple of Theseus, was a sculptor as well as a painter, there is every reason to believe that the sculptures of the temple are from his designs; and being not very numerous, they are more likely to have been finished by his own hands, than the sculptures of the Parthenon by the hands of Phidias.

It has already been assumed, that the sculptured metopes of the eastern front described ten of the labours of Hercules. As the division of the hero's exploits into twelve labours was the invention of a later age, it cannot surprise us to find some of his labours here omitted, and instead of them, some of those actions represented which do not enter into his twelve labours, but are usually called his *παράεργα*. The first metope, beginning from the south, represented Hercules and the lion of Nemea: the second, Hercules and Iolaus destroying the Hydra:

[1] Metam. l. 12, v. 507.

[2] The same subject is seen upon the frize of the Phigalian temple, now in the British Museum.

the third, Hercules taming the stag of Ceryneia: the fourth, Hercules and the Cretan bull: the fifth, Hercules with one of the horses of Diomed, king of Thrace; the sixth, Hercules and Cerberus: the seventh is much injured; it represents, perhaps, Hercules fighting with Cycnus[1]: the eighth is probably Hercules and Hippolyta: the ninth is Hercules and Antæus, whose mother, Earth, stands by, and stretches out both arms, in an attitude often seen designed upon Greek vases: the tenth, or northernmost metope, is Hercules receiving the apples of the Hesperides. Of the four sculptured metopes on the south side, the first, from the angle, represents Theseus and the Minotaur: the second, Theseus and the Marathonian bull: the third, Theseus and Pityocamptes: the fourth is perhaps Theseus and Procrustes. The first on the north side is perhaps Theseus and Corynetes[2]: the second is Theseus and Cercyon: the third, Theseus and Scyron: the fourth, Theseus and the sow of Crommyon.

All the sculptures of the Theseium, both those of the metopes and of the frizes of the vestibules, preserve the

[1] This was the most celebrated of the μονομαχίαι of Hercules. It was represented in a group of the Acropolis, and upon the throne of the Amyclæan Apollo.—Pausan. Attic. c. 27.—Lacon. c. 18.

[2] This metope and the former represent a victorious hero standing over his prostrate antagonist; but none of the attributes which may formerly have distinguished the personages are now apparent. As the labours of Theseus, however, were usually held to be eight in number (Hygin. Fab. 38), and as six of the eight metopes are sufficiently preserved to show the particular labours which they described, it can hardly be doubted that the remaining two described the defeat of Corynetes and Procrustes, though it may be uncertain which of the two was intended for the former and which for the latter.

remains of the colours with which they were painted. Vestiges of bronze and golden-coloured arms, of a blue sky, and of blue, green and red drapery, are still very apparent. A painted foliage and mæander is seen on the interior cornice of the peristyle, and a painted star in the lacunaria. Similar painted ornaments are seen in the Parthenon, in the Panhelleneium of Ægina, and in several other temples. The custom was brought originally from Egypt, that country to which the Greeks were indebted for so large a share of their mythology, sacred architecture, and other arts. In like manner, gigantomachiæ, and other similar subjects, painted on the walls of the temples of Athens, are evident imitations, both in subject and manner, of the representations on the walls of the Egyptian temples: with this difference, however, that while the works of the Athenians, having been painted only upon the smooth wall, have been obliterated by time, those of the Egyptians having had the addition of a peculiar kind of low relief, have remained uninjured for a much longer period.

The three pictures which adorned the three interior walls of the Theseium related to the actions of Theseus. The stucco upon which they were painted is still apparent, and shows that each painting covered the entire wall, from the roof to two feet nine inches short of the pavement. On one of the walls was the battle of the Athenians with the Amazons: on another the fight of the Centaurs and Lapithæ, in which Theseus alone was represented as having slain a Centaur, the rest being engaged in an equal combat. The picture on the third wall described an action of Theseus in Crete[1].

[1] See Section I.

From the inferior importance of the subject, it is probable that this picture was on the western wall, which was the smallest of the three.

IV.

NOTE TO PAGE 44.

Of the Temple of Jupiter Olympius.

As there are still some persons who entertain doubts whether the columns near the Ilissus belonged to the Olympium, it may be right to lay before the reader, together with the passage of Vitruvius referred to in the text, all the other authorities regarding this building.

The Olympieium, or Olympium, was one of the most ancient temples in Athens[1], a sufficient proof of which is its reputation of having been originally founded by Deucalion[2]. A new temple upon a magnificent plan was founded by Pisistratus, about the year 530 B. C.: but the expensive wars, in which the Athenians were not long afterwards engaged, soon put a stop to its progress; and its unfinished state, in the most flourishing periods of the republic, seems to have been a common subject of regret[3]. About the year 174 B. C. Antiochus Epiphanes, king of Syria, undertook to complete it, and a magnificent edifice of the Corinthian order was begun by Cossutius, a Roman architect[1]. Upon the death of Antiochus, in

[1] Thucyd. l. 2, c. 15.

[2] Pausan. Attic. c. 28.

[3] Plutarch. in Solon.—Lucian in Icaro-menippo.

the year 164 B. C. the work was again interrupted, and seventy-eight years afterwards, Sylla having taken Athens, carried away the columns prepared for this building, and erected them in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, at Rome[2]. The Olympium was in this imperfect and mutilated state when the kings, and states in alliance or subjection to Augustus, undertook the completion of the building at their joint expense[3]. The work was once more

[1] Namque Athenis Antistates et Callæschros, et Antimachides et Porinos architecti Pisistrato ædem Jovi Olympio facienti, fundamenta constituerunt: post mortem autem ejus propter interpellationem reipublicæ incepta reliquerunt, itaque circiter annis ducentis (350?) post, Antiochus rex, cum in id opus impensam esset pollicitus, cellæ magnitudinem, et columnarum circa dipteron collocationem, epistyliorum et cæterorum ornamentorum ad symmetriarum distributionem magnâ solertiâ scientiâque summâ civis Romanus Cossutius nobiliter est architectatus.....In asty vero Olympium amplo modulorum comparatu, Corinthiis symmetriis et proportionibus, uti supra scriptum est, architectandum Cossutius suscepisse memoratur.—Vitruv. Proem. in l. 7.

Ἐν δὲ ταῖς πρὸς τὰς πόλεις θυσίαις καὶ ταῖς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς τιμαῖς πάντας ὑπερέβαλλε (Antiochus) τοὺς βεβασιλευκότας· τοῦτο δ' ἄν τις τεκμήραιτο ἐκ τοῦ παρ' Ἀθηναίοις Ὀλυ· πιείου.—Athenæus, l. 5, c. 5, p. 194, Ed. Casaub.

Magnificentiæ vero (Antiochi) in Deos vel Jovis Olympii templum Athenis unum in terris inchoatum pro magnitudine Dei potest testis esse.—T. Liv. Hist. l. 41, c. 20.

Antiochus Epiphanes qui Athenis Olympieum inchoavit.—Vell. Paterc. l. 1, c. 10.

Τὸ Ὀλύμπιον ὅπερ ἡμιτελὲς κατέλιπε ὁ ἀναθεὶς (qu. Ἀντίοχος) βασιλεύς.—Strabo, p. 396.

[2] Athenis templum Jovis Olympii, ex quo Sylla Capitolinis ædibus advexerat columnas.—Plin. Nat. Hist. l. 36, c. 6.

[3] Reges amici atque socii et singuli in suo quisque regno, Cæsareas urbes condiderunt; et cuncti simul ædem Jovis Olympii Athenis

interrupted, however, and the honour of completing and dedicating the temple, and of erecting the statue of the god, was reserved for Hadrian[1], six hundred and fifty years after its foundation by Pisistratus.

V.

NOTE TO PAGE 58, NOTE 1.

Besides the coin in the title-page of this volume, there is another representation of the Παρθενῶν ὑπερκείμενος τῷ θεάτρῳ, with the σπήλαιον between them, rudely figured upon an ancient earthen vase found at Aulis. The theatre is there described by a few seats in a curve: above it is seen the front of a small temple standing upon some rocks between two columns (two of the tripodial columns), and at the top of all are two sides of a large colonnade standing upon other rocks.—Millin, Vases Antiques, tome 2, p. 55, 56. It seems evident, from the vase and coin compared with the words of Dicæarchus, that the view of the Parthenon, with the theatre below it, was considered one of the most magnificent spectacles which Athens afforded.

antiquitus inchoatam perficere communi sumptu destinaverunt.—Sueton. in August. c. 60

[1] Hadrianus.....ad Orientem profectus per Athenas iter fecit, atque opera quæ apud Athenienses ceperat dedicavit et Jovis Olympii ædem et aram sibi.—Spartian. in vit. Hadrian.

Ἁδριανὸς δὲ τό τε Ὀλύμπιον τὸ ἐν Ἀθήναις, ἐν ᾧ καὶ αὐτὸς ἴδρυται, ἐξεποίησε. —Xyphil. Epit. Dion. Nicæi in Hadrian.

VI.

NOTE TO PAGE 122.

Athens had a public library from a very early period, even so early as the time of Pisistratus, if we may trust to Aulus Gellius (l. 6. c. 17), who adds, that Xerxes carried the books to Persia, and that they were restored by Seleucus Nicator. We are not informed in what part of the city the books were deposited before the time when Hadrian built his magnificent library for their reception. It appears from Lucian (adv. Indoct.) that Sylla carried a great number of books from Athens to Rome: he probably plundered the public library.

VII.

NOTE TO PAGE 132.

The sacred inclosure which surrounded the Anaceium, or temple of the Dioscuri, appears to have been of considerable extent; for we find it mentioned upon one occasion as a place of assembly of the cavalry of Athens[1], and upon another as occupied by a large body of infantry[2]. It has been remarked, in page 130, that there are appearances of an anciently-frequented passage up the rocks at the back of the Anaceium by the Agraulium into the Acropolis, in the situation by which the Persians succeeded in assaulting the Acropolis. A frequented passage supposes a postern gate in this part of

[1] Andocid. de Myster. p. 23, Reiske

[2] Thucyd. l. 8. c. 93.

the wall; and I am much inclined to believe, from the stratagem of Pisistratus, recorded by Polyænus, and mentioned in the text, that there was such a gate; for it does not very well appear how Pisistratus could have had the command of the Agraulium from the Acropolis, unless there was a direct passage into it from the neighbouring part of the walls, without going round by the Propylæa.

VIII.

NOTE TO PAGE 133.

Behind the Prytaneium was a field sacred to Apollo, called Λίμου πέδιον, because the oracle had ordered the Athenians to dedicate this piece of ground to the god upon the occasion of a famine[1]. Behind the house, which I have supposed to occupy the site of the Prytaneium, is a small garden at the foot of the rocks of the Acropolis, which may perhaps be the Λίμου πέδιον.

IX.

NOTE TO PAGE 161.

Schneider, in his edition of Vitruvius, has changed the old reading of *Pericles* into that of *Themistocles*, in the passage referred to in the text: thus making his author say, that the Odeium, which was upon the traveller's left hand, in coming out of the theatre of Bacchus, was built by Themistocles, and not by Pericles. In justification of this alteration, he remarks, that the building of this Odeium with the timber of the Persian navy was an

[1] Hesych. et Tarrhæus, in Λίμου πέδιον.—Apost. prov. cent. 12. pr. 2.

action more suited to Themistocles than to Pericles; he adds, that in all the manuscripts which he had consulted, the word is Themistocles; but that it was changed by Jocundus *ineptissime* into Pericles. However this may be, it is certain that Plutarch[1] states *Pericles* to have had the superintendence of the erection of the Odeium, and he quotes Cratinus, whose evidence being that of a contemporary, seems decisive upon the subject. "Here," says the comic poet, "comes that squill-pated Jupiter Pericles, with his Odeium upon his head;" thus alluding at once to the tent-shaped form of the Odeium, remarked by Plutarch and Pausanias, and to the pointed cranium of Pericles. It is clear, therefore, that Pericles, and not Themistocles, had the credit among the Athenians, of having executed this Odeium.

X.

NOTE TO PAGE 178, NOTE 2.

On the Cost of the Works of Pericles.

The estimation of the expenses of the works of Pericles at less than three thousand talents is founded upon a comparison of two passages in Thucydides. In the thirteenth chapter of the second book, he informs us that when Pericles, at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, harangued the people of Athens upon the subject of their finances, he stated that three thousand seven hundred talents of coined silver had been expended upon

[1] For the words of Plutarch and Cratinus, see Section I. in the notes to the extracts from the twentieth chapter of the Attica, where Pausanias treats of this Odeium.

the public buildings and upon the siege of Potidæa[1]. The words of the historian, *τὰ προπύλαια καὶ τἆλλα οἰκοδομήματα*, render it at first sight doubtful whether the expense of *all* the buildings was included in the three thousand seven hundred talents, or only that of the Propylæa, and of some other buildings, which, like the Propylæa, had then been very recently finished. It appears evident, however, from Plutarch, that all the great buildings of Pericles were paid for out of the treasure, of which the three thousand seven hundred talents formed a part, and consequently that Thucydides meant that the three thousand seven hundred talents defrayed the expense of all those buildings. This treasure, amounting at one time to nine thousand seven hundred talents, had been chiefly collected from the confederate cities, as a commutation of their services in men and ships against the Persians: it had been removed by Pericles from Delos to Athens, and the possession of it, by putting large pecuniary means in the hands of Pericles, seems to have been one of the chief causes which instigated him to adorn the city with so many splendid buildings. Every

[1] .....ὑπαρχόντων δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει ἔτι τότε ἀργυρίου ἐπισήμου ἑξακισχιλίων ταλάντων· τὰ γὰρ πλεῖστα τριακοσίων ἀποδέοντα μύρια ἐγένετο, ἀφ' ὧν ἔστε τὰ προπύλαια τῆς ἀκροπόλεως καὶ τἆλλα οἰκοδομήματα καὶ ἐς ποτίδαιαν ἀπανελώθη.—Thucyd. l. 2, c. 13.

Diodorus (l. 12, c. 38, 40), in mentioning these facts, says, that the sum brought from Delos was ten thousand talents, of which four thousand were spent upon the Propylæa and the siege of Potidæa. The similarity of his account to that of Thucydides, his preference of the round numbers, and his leaving out the *other buildings*, seem all to show that he followed Thucydides, but copied him inaccurately. His authority, of course, cannot be admitted in the face of that of the contemporary historian.

step of these transactions has been so well stated, and so naturally accounted for by Plutarch, that we cannot doubt of his having had good information respecting this part of the life of Pericles. In his life of Cimon, which has every appearance of being equally authentic, he shows us, that the works of Cimon, consisting of the temple of Theseus, of the south wall of the citadel, of the greater part of the Long Walls, and of the improvements of the Gymnasia and of the Agora, were paid for (with the exception of the Theseium, which was of an earlier date) from the spoils of Cimon's expeditions against the Persians. From the life of Pericles it is equally evident, that the Propylæa, Parthenon, Mystic Temple of Eleusis, Odeium, and some portion of the Long Walls[1], were defrayed from the treasure which had been collected at Delos, and removed from thence to Athens. Pericles, therefore, in naming the Propylæa at the head of his buildings, may be supposed to have been guided partly by the circumstance of that edifice having been completed only in the year preceding that when he addressed the Athenians, and partly by the novelty and boldness of the design of the building itself, which had rendered it proportionally more costly than the others, and an object of greater curiosity.

In the 70th chapter of the second book, where Thucydides records the surrender of Potidæa, he observes that the whole siege had cost two thousand talents. If, therefore, a probable estimate can be made of the portion of

[1] From what I have said of the Erechtheium (p. 269), it is obvious that a part of the expense of that building must also be included. Another building, said to have been erected by Pericles, was the στοὰ ἀλφιτόπωλις, or flour portico, in the Peiræeus. Schol. in Aristoph. Acharn. v. 547.

these two thousand talents which had been expended when three thousand seven hundred talents had been laid out upon the siege and buildings together, we shall have a tolerably correct valuation of the entire cost of the works of Pericles.

In the first year of the Peloponnesian war, eighty days before midsummer, six months of the siege were not yet terminated[1]. Pericles made his financial statement to the Athenians when Archidamus, at the head of the Lacedæmonians, was moving from the isthmus into Attica[2]. Hence if we consider the time occupied in collecting the combined forces at the isthmus before that movement, together with the time spent in the siege of Ænoe, between the movement and midsummer, when Archidamus entered the plain of Athens, we cannot be very wrong in concluding that the speech of Pericles upon the finances was made about forty days before midsummer, and that the siege had then lasted seven months. The siege terminated about the middle of the second winter, and consequently lasted twenty-seven months in all.

The investing land force consisted of three thousand hoplitæ, with as many ὑπηρέται, or light-armed attendants. Each hoplita was allowed two drachmæ a-day for himself and his attendant[3]. The expenses of the investing army were, therefore, as follows:

	Talents, of 6000 drachmæ.
Six thousand men for twenty-seven months, at thirty drachmæ per man per month	810

To this sum must be added the expenses of the corps

[1] Thucyd. l. 2, c. 2, 19. [2] Thucyd. l. 2, c. 13.
[3] Thucyd. l. 3, c. 17.

under Phormio, which was sent from Athens not long after the beginning of the blockade, and which, after completing the investment of Potidæa towards the peninsula of Pallene, and after building a wall on that side, made occasional excursions upon the Chalcidenses and Bottiæi. As this corps was not in Macedonia in the ensuing autumn[1], (having probably been withdrawn at the time of the invasion of Attica by the Lacedæmonians in the spring), it was employed about six months against Potidæa. It consisted of one thousand six hundred hoplitæ[2], paid at the same rate as the three thousand[3]: the expense of this corps, therefore, was,

	Talents.
	810
Three thousand two hundred men for six months, at thirty drachmæ per man per month . . .	96
Total expenses of the investing land force . . .	906
Which deducted from	2000
Leaves	1094

for the naval department of the investment, and for the occasional expeditions and operations against Potidæa. As Thucydides remarks[4], that in the first year of the war the Athenians had two hundred and fifty triremes at sea, a hundred in the Attic seas, from Eubœa to Salamis, a hundred around Peloponnesus, and fifty at Potidæa and in other places, we may allow twenty-five for the blockade of Potidæa, which was then the principal foreign expedition. As the historian further remarks[5], that all the ships' companies were paid at the same rate as the land

[1] Thucyd. l. 2, c. 31.
[2] Thucyd. l. 1, c. 64.
[3] Thucyd. l. 3, c. 17.
[4] Id. ibid.
[5] Id. ibid.

forces, we may calculate the pay of the seamen at a drachma per diem[1], and the complement of the Athenian ships being generally fifty seamen and a hundred and fifty rowers[2], we may conclude that the monthly expense of each trireme was about one talent[3].

[1] Thucydides gives us to understand that the pay of the sailors at Potidæa was uncommonly high. In like manner the Peloponnesian seaman was considered as highly paid when he received a drachma a-day from Tissaphernes in the twentieth year of the war (Thucyd. l. 8, c. 29, 45). The usual daily pay of the Athenian seamen was three oboli (Thucyd. l. 8, c. 45.—Xenophon. Hellen. l. 1, c. 5.) Those of the celebrated trireme, Paralus, received four oboli (Harpocrat. in Πάραλος). But it is probable that in addition to the three or four oboli, there was an allowance of corn, though we find no express mention of the σιτηρέσιον as distinct from the μίσθος, until eighty years afterwards, when Demosthenes, at a time when the medimnus of wheat sold for five drachmæ, proposed two oboli for the soldier's ration of corn (Demosth. Philip. I. p. 48). It appears also from his oration against Polycles (p. 1214), that the σιτηρέσιον was then allowed to sailors as well as soldiers.

[2] See Mémoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions, vol. 38, p. 578.

[3] We are informed by Xenophon (ubi supra), that in the year preceding that in which the Peloponnesian war was concluded, by the surrender of Athens to the Lacedæmonians, Lysander visited Cyrus at Sardis, and endeavoured to prevail upon him to allow a talent a month for each of the Lacedæmonian triremes; but Cyrus would only consent to raise the daily pay of each man from the usual sum of three oboli to four. From what has been stated in note 1, and from the passage of Thucydides, in which he states the equality of pay among the seamen and soldiers at Potidæa, we can hardly doubt that Lysander's object was to obtain the same rate of pay as had been allowed by Tissaphernes, and the same which the Athenians received at Potidæa.

The expense, therefore, of the permanent naval force before Potidæa was probably

	Talents.
Twenty-five triremes, at a talent a month, for twenty-seven months	675
A few smaller vessels, the expense of which may have been equivalent to that of three triremes . .	81
	756
To this must be added the charges for the ships attached to the corps of Phormio; for it is evident, from the words of Thucydides, that there were ships so employed[1]. Reckoning their expense in the same proportion to the expense of the corps itself, which that of the permanent naval force bore to that of the three thousand hoplitæ, we shall have for the costs of the naval department of the corps of Phormio .	90
Giving for the whole of the naval service . .	846
Which added to the charge of the land service .	906
Makes a total of	1752
for the whole expense of the investment of Potidæa:	
This sum deducted from	2000
leaves	248

for the charges of two expeditions against Potidæa. The former of these was in the summer preceding the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, when the battle of Potidæa was fought, when the wall was built across the isthmus, and when three thousand hoplitæ and seventy ships were employed[2]. The latter was in the second

[1] Thucyd. l. 1, c. 64.

[2] Thucyd. l. 1, c. 61. et seq.

summer of the war, when Agnon, with four thousand hoplitæ, lay before Potidæa for forty days, and besieged it with machines[1]. If we allow the same proportion of ships in the latter expedition as in the former (and it was about the average proportion of triremes to soldiers in the floating expeditions of the Athenians[2],) we may suppose Agnon to have been accompanied by about ninety ships. It does not seem probable from the narrative of Thucydides that the operations against Potidæa, in the year preceding the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, were much longer or shorter than those under Agnon in the second year of the war. The two hundred and forty-eight talents, therefore, which defrayed them both, may be divided between the two in the proportion of their land forces, or in the ratio of three to four;

	Talents.
Giving to the former expedition an expense of . .	106
And to that of Agnon an expense of . . .	142

And it is observable, that this sum of a hundred and forty-two talents will be found very accurately to defray

[1] Thucyd. l. 2, c. 58.

[2] No great accuracy can be expected upon this head; the proportion of the naval to the land forces depending in great measure upon the circumstances of each expedition. In that of the Corinthians against the Corcyræi, four years before the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, two thousand hoplitæ were embarked in seventy-five ships (Thucyd. l. 1, c. 29). In the expedition against the coasts of Peloponnesus, commanded by Pericles in the second year of the war, four thousand hoplitæ were embarked in a hundred ships (Thucyd. l. 2, c. 56). In an expedition commanded by Nicias, in the seventh year, two thousand hoplitæ were embarked in eighty ships (Thucyd. l. 4, c. 42).

the expenses of such an expedition as that of Agnon, upon the supposition that the hoplitæ, while employed on shore, received a pay equal to that of the investing army, and that the ships' companies were diminished in strength (as appears from Thucydides to have been a common custom among the Athenians in their desultory expeditions) in order to make room for the soldiers; for the cost would then be reduced to that of ninety ships for forty days, amounting to a hundred and twenty talents, and the remaining twenty-two talents would nearly supply an extra pay of a drachma per diem to four thousand hoplitæ for forty days.

According to the preceding calculation, the expenses of the siege of Potidæa, during the seven months previous to the opening of the war, and the speech of Pericles upon the Athenian finances, were composed of,

	Talents.
1. The expense of the expedition previous to the formation of the blockade	106
2. The expense of the corps of Phormio . .	186
3. Two-thirds of the expense of the whole blockade, or of one thousand seven hundred and fifty-two talents	455
Total	747
Or in round numbers	750

Having deducted this sum from three thousand seven hundred talents, we have two thousand nine hundred and fifty talents for the cost of the buildings of Pericles. At the rate of sixty-five grains troy to the drachma[1], the

[1] See Prolegomena in Homerum, by R. P. Knight, in the Classical Journal, vol. 7, page 351.

talent weighed six ty-seven pounds eight ounces and a half, and 2950 talents were equal in weight to 13,182,812 shillings of our present currency of sixty-six shillings to the pound of silver, or in paper to £659,140.

But reckoning the cost of the buildings of Pericles in corn, the result will be very different. Estimating the medimnus of wheat at eighty-six pounds avoirdupois[1], the English bushel of wheat at sixty pounds, and the price of wheat in the time of Pericles at two drachmæ the medimnus[2], the total amount in wheat will be 12,685,000

[1] The medimnus was equal to six Roman modii (Corn. Nep. Attic. c. 2.—Cicero in Verr. de frumento). Pliny, who has given us (Nat. Hist. l. 18, c. 7.) the weight of the modius of several kinds of wheat, remarks, that of those which were imported into Italy, the Gallic and the Thracian Chersonesan were the lightest, and that the modius of these grains weighed twenty libræ. We learn from Theophrastus (Hist. Plant. l. 8, c. 8), that the Attic wheat did not contain more than three-fifths of the nourishment of the Bœotian, which Pliny considers to have been of the very first quality. Hence we may suppose that the wheat of Attica was nearly of the same quality and weight as that of Chersonesus, the soil of which peninsula very much resembles the Attic soil. We cannot be very wrong, therefore, in estimating the weight of the Attic medimnus at a hundred and twenty libræ. The libra was equal to five thousand and forty grains troy (see Rees's Cyclopædia, art. Libra). The medimnus, therefore, was equal to a hundred and five pounds troy, or to about eighty-six pounds avoirdupois. Suidas indeed (in Μέδιμνος) says that the medimnus was equal to a hundred and eight λίτραι; but his authority is not to be placed in competition with that of Pliny, and the λίτρα of his time may have been different from the Roman libra of the time of Pliny.

[2] Demosthenes more than once informs us, in his oration against Phormio, delivered about 335 B. C. that the ordinary price of wheat at that time was five drachmæ the medimnus: but during the cen-

English bushels, which, at ten shillings the bushel, amount to £6,342,500[1].

According to this scale of comparison the value of the Attic drachma was seven shillings and two-pence of our present currency; and the hoplita received at the siege of Potidæa, for himself and the light-armed soldier who attended him, a sum which could command as much food as fourteen shillings and four-pence in the present day. Enormous as this sum appears at first sight, yet when we consider that the soldier had to arm, clothe, and probably to feed himself also out of it, it will be perceived that the Attic soldier was brought upon parade at a smaller expense to the state than the British, although the latter is raised from the lowest order of peasants and mechanics, while the Athenian, being the citizen of a republic in which the greater part of the population consisted of sojourners and slaves, was a person of considerable rank: for when two drachmæ was the sum allowed to the daily support of two soldiers at Po-

tury, which elapsed between the time of Pericles and that of Demosthenes, the working of the Attic silver mines had effected a great change in the value of silver; and Barthelemy (Mémoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions, tome 48, page 393) has given some strong reasons for believing that about 595 B. C. wheat at Athens was one drachma the medimnus; about 440 B. C. two drachmæ; and about 393 B. C. three drachmæ: thus gradually rising with the increase of silver, of luxury, and of commerce, until it attained the rate which it held in the time of Demosthenes.

[1] Hence it appears that the value of silver in corn at Athens, in the year B. C. 435, bears to its value in the same commodity in England at present the proportion of 9·62 to 1.

tidæa, each of the ambassadors to the king of Persia received no more than two drachmæ a day[1].

The usual pay of the hoplita in the Peloponnesian war was four oboli[2], or two-thirds of a drachma; but when his pay is rated at this sum, it is probable that some allowance of corn is to be added to it, for, independent of the disproportion of this sum, to that allowed at Potidæa, we find that in the nineteenth year of the war a body of Thracian peltastæ were hired at a drachma a day, and we can hardly suppose that the Athenian citizens would have been satisfied with such a difference between their pay and that of the foreigners, unless they had some allowance for provisions. We find that the troops, while in the expedition to Syracuse, were accompanied with σιταγῶγα πλοῖα, or vessels laden with corn[3]. In the time of Demosthenes, sixty years after the conclusion of the Peloponnesian war, the σιτηρέσιον was a regular allowance[4], and was estimated at two oboli per man[5]. Thus it appears that a drachma was still the soldier's daily allowance. Its value, however, had very much diminished. As bread-corn then sold at five drachmæ the medimnus, four oboli were not more than

[1] Ἐπέμψαθ' ἡμᾶς ὡς θασιλέα τὸν μέγαν
Μίσθον φέροντας δύο δράχμας τῆς ἡμέρας
Ἐπ' Εὐθυμένους ἄρχοντος.

Aristoph. Acharn. v. 65.

Euthymenes was archon B. C. 437.

[2] In a fragment of Theopompus, a writer of the old comedy, the word τετρωβολίζειν is used to signify the condition of a private soldier (J. Poll. l. 9, c. 6), and τετρωβόλου βίος was a common expression of the same kind (Eustath. in Il. N, p. 930, et in Odyss. A. p. 39, ed. Basil).

[3] Thucyd. l. 6, c. 30.

[4] Demosth. in Polycl. p. 1209, 1214, Reiske.

[5] Demosth. Philip. 1. p. 48.

equivalent to one shilling and eleven-pence of our present currency[1]. The ration of corn being near five pounds twelve ounces, equivalent to four pounds and a half of flour, was not very different in substance from the pound and a half of flour, and the pound and a half of beef allowed to the British soldier.

Having concluded that the sum of 6,342,500 pounds sterling would nearly represent, in our present currency, the total cost of the buildings of Pericles, it would be desirable to ascertain what proportion of this sum was applied to the most admirable of them, the Parthenon; but there are no means of arriving at any accuracy upon this point. From the terms in which ancient authors speak of the Propylæa, and even from the words of Heliodorus[2], though they may be numerically inaccurate, it may be inferred that the Propylæa was *comparatively* the most expensive of the works of Pericles, which may be accounted for by the previous labour necessary in preparing the rock for the reception of the building, together with the complexity and novelty of the plan. It can hardly be supposed that the vast dimensions of the mystic temple of Eleusis, with its two propylæa[3], could have been executed at a cost much inferior to that of the Parthenon. The money laid out upon the Erechtheium, Odeium, Long Walls, and Peiræeus, upon the repairs of some of the temples burnt by the Persians, and upon

[1] The reduction of the value of the Attic soldier's pay in the course of a century is exactly analogous to what has occurred in regard to the pay of the officers in the British army: our soldiers have been better taken care of.

[2] See page 178. Heliodorus, cited by Harpocration, says that the Propylæa alone cost two thousand and twelve talents.

[3] The dodecastyle portico of this building was not constructed till the time of Demetrius Phalereus; it was the work of the celebrated Philo. Vitruv. proem. in l. 7.

other buildings and dedications of Pericles, must also have consumed a large share of the entire sum: so that, upon the whole, we should hardly be warranted in estimating the cost of the Parthenon at more than a fourth part of the entire sum, or about one million and a half[1].

It appears from Herodotus[2], that the expense of building the temple of Delphi was between three and four hundred talents, or about half as much as the cost of the Parthenon. But this difference will be considerably reduced by the diminution in the value of silver, during the sixty years which elapsed between the building of the Delphic and that of the Athenian temple: the remaining difference will be sufficiently accounted for by the superior magnificence of the Parthenon.

We are told that St. Peter's church at Rome cost twelve millions[3] sterling; St. Paul's in London cost a million and a half, at a period when that sum could command considerably more than twice the quantity of labour and materials that it can at present. In concluding, therefore, that the Parthenon could not be erected at the present time for less than a million and a half, there is no reason to believe that the computation is overrated; and even in this case it must be supposed to be built of materials procured at as little cost, as the Pentelic marble was conveyed to the Acropolis.

[1] In this sum it is not intended to include the forty talents of gold, applied by Phidias to the παρθενος, or colossal statue of Minerva (Thucyd. l. 2, c. 13). This alone was worth a hundred and thirty thousand pounds, according to the present price of gold: but it is evident, from Thucydides and Plutarch, that this gold was not expended, but only more securely thesaurized.

[2] Herod. l. 2, c. 180.—l. 5, c. 62.

[3] Eustace's Travels in Italy, vol. 2, p. 129, 8vo.

XI.

NOTE TO PAGE 189.

It is said in the text that the defensive works of the western end of the Acropolis were probably part of a system of fortifications more ancient than the Propylæa. This opinion receives some support from the passage of Cleidemus, preserved by Suidas (in Ἄγραδα) and cited in page 279, note 3. Cleidemus there says, that "the Pelasgi le-"velled the Acropolis, and built around it the nine-gated "Pelasgicum." The nine gates of the more modern fortress of the Acropolis are also alluded to by Polemo (see additional note, page 386, note 2). Now, with the exception perhaps of the spot above the Agraulium, it is scarcely possible that any of the nine gates should have been any where but at the western end of the hill. *There*, if we suppose the approach to have been carried up the slope in the same manner as at present, it is easy to believe that there may have been a succession of eight or nine gates. In the more ancient πύλαι (as Herodotus calls them) which preceded the Propylæa built by Pericles, a succession of three or four gates may have been the ruder mode of defence adopted by the Pelasgi, and those, together with gates at L, E, C, and A, will nearly make up the number of nine. The five gates at M, in the new Propylæa, might still keep up the number of the gates of the Acropolis to nine, and might thus tend to preserve the memory of the nine-gated defence of the Pelasgic fortress.

XII.

NOTE TO PAGE 201.

The dress of the Persians upon the frize of the temple of Victory, now in the British Museum, consists of a very full tunic, and of a pair of loose pantaloons enveloping the feet. It appears from Persius, that they were represented in the same manner in the Pœcile; for the satirist calls that stoa, *braccatis* illita Medis Porticus.

XIII.

NOTE TO PAGE 213.

It is stated in the text, that the general design of the Parthenon was peculiarly adapted to the reception of decorative sculpture. In the original Doric no such ornament existed. It was not until the art of the statuary had made some progress that his works were placed as sacred ἀναθήματα in the pediments, where they were conspicuously exhibited, at the same time that they formed a beautiful ornament in a part of the building the nakedness of which is a defect in the unadorned Doric. At length each statue became part of one entire composition relating to the worship of the deity of the temple. That this improvement, important both to architecture and to sculpture, was very ancient, is proved by the temple of Jupiter Panhellenius at Ægina, which was built about 570 years before Christ. A century later, when the Theseum was constructed, we find that an-

other step was made towards decoration, by sculptured metopes; but in this instance, probably from the want of pecuniary means, the statuary works were confined to the eastern front of the temple, and to four of the adjoining metopes on the north and south sides. It was not until Pericles, fortunately for architecture, resorted to the profligate expedient of seizing the common treasure of Greece, for the use of his country, that the architects of Athens had the means of giving full scope to their genius: and instead of calculating expense, were anxious only to devise such a plan for the new temple of the guardian goddess in the citadel, as should admit of the greatest quantity of decoration. It could not fail to strike them, that their object was not to be attained in a hexastyle temple, which, from the small number of columns, and subordinate parts, was necessarily of a simple character; and, although an enlargement of dimensions would partly obviate the difficulty which, in the pediments of hexastyles so small as the Panhellenium, or Theseium, obliged the artist to confine his composition to a very few figures, and forced him to place them in a more formal symmetry of attitude than would have been necessary if the space had been greater; yet there were other inherent qualities of the hexastyle, adverse to decoration even in the pediment itself. The columns being larger required a higher entablature, and these proportions pervaded not only the architrave, frize, and cornice, but the cornice also above the pediment, so that the space for the reception of the statuary composition was not only smaller than in an octastyle of the same size, but the effect of the *picture* was still farther lessened by its having too broad a *frame*. If, for the sake of making the proportions of the upper parts lighter, the columns were made smaller, with larger intercolumnia, the temple would

be less lofty, and would in other respects lose much of its majesty, while the general simplicity of the elevation would still be inconsistent with any great degree of ornament. In the octastyle, the multiplicity of columns alone gave elegance and splendour to the edifice, rendering it fit for any decorations which the upper parts of the building could receive, and even requiring such ornament. Hence we may perceive the reason why no other octastyle Doric temple of large dimensions was ever constructed in the comparatively poor republics of Greece proper[1]: its expense being great in proportion to the talents and labour required in its execution, it was a work which required all the energy and skill of Athens under Pericles, together with a *Panhellenic* treasury. We may conceive how great a difference there must have been between the cost of the Parthenon and of the temple of Jupiter at Olympia, which was built at the same time, and nearly of the same dimensions, when we consider that the latter, being a hexastyle, had a much smaller number of columns, of metopes, and of other subordinate parts; that none of the metopes were decorated with sculpture; that of the cell the doors at the two ends only had sculptures above them, and that the whole building was formed of common lime-

[1] There was an octastyle Doric temple at Delus, but the diameter of its columns was only three feet. At Selinus, in Sicily, there was an octastyle Doric temple, in which the diameter of the columns was ten feet, and, as it was a dipterus, it contained thirty columns more than the Parthenon: but it should be observed, that the Doric temples of Sicily and Italy were essentially different from those of Greece; for the colonists having rigidly adhered to the old short proportions of the Doric columns, their pediments would hardly admit of statuary decorations. The temple of Selinus, moreover, was never finished; even the fluting, one of the most laborious operations, having only been executed in a few of the columns.

stone, instead of the Pentelic marble used in the Parthenon, which invited and demanded a much more elaborate and finished workmanship in all the details. Upon comparing the Parthenon with the immense structures raised by the opulent cities of Miletus, Agrigentum, and Selinus, we find that the Athenian temple was executed in a much more perfect and costly manner than any of them. Its superiority is still more strikingly exemplified in comparing it with another immense building, erected at Athens at the expense of different foreign powers, in the course of several centuries, and built of the same materials as the Parthenon: I mean the temple of Jupiter Olympius.

If some of the foregoing considerations tend to justify the conclusion which has been arrived at in a preceding note, with regard to the cost of the Parthenon, others will inspire us with the greatest respect for the architects of Greece, and especially for those of Athens, as well as with a desire to collect every possible information upon the works of men who had so profoundly studied their art.

XIV.

NOTE TO PAGE 234.

To the other proofs of the identity of the Opisthodomus of the Parthenon may be added the description which Pausanias has given of the Opisthodomus of the temple of Jupiter at Olympia; for we have seen that these two buildings closely resembled each other in internal construction. It appears from the words of Pausanias, that

at Olympia the Opisthodomus was a chamber of the cell; and had a door of its own, opening into the peristyle—a description which precisely suits the western chamber of the Parthenon.

XV.

NOTE TO PAGE 252.

If Carrey was correct in his representation of the dolphin at the feet of the seated female, to the spectator's right of the centre of the composition in the western pediment of the Parthenon, that figure may perhaps be taken for the Sea (Θάλασσα), and the other female, standing upon her right, may be the Earth (Γῆ); these two being often introduced by the Greek poets as deities in the early events of their mythology. Perhaps the words of Homer, in the hymn to Minerva, may not be considered inapplicable to the composition in the western pediment.

. . . . . τὴν αὐτὸς ἐγείνατο μητίετα Ζεὺς
Σεμνῆς ἐκ κεφαλῆς, πολεμήϊα τεύχε' ἔχουσαν,
Χρύσεα, παμφανόωντα· σέβας δ' ἔχε πάντας ὁρῶντας
Ἀθανάτους· ἡ δὲ πρόσθεν Διὸς Αἰγιόχοιο
Ἐσσυμένως ὥρουσεν ἀπ' ἀθανάτοιο καρήνου,
Σείσασ' ὀξὺν ἄκοντα· μέγας δ' ἐλελίζετ' Ὄλυμπος
Δεινὸν ὑπ' ὀμβρίμης γλαυκώπιδος· ἀμφὶ δὲ γαῖα
Σμερδαλέον ἰάχησεν· ἐκινήθη δ' ἄρα πόντος
Κύμασι πορφυρέοισι κυκώμενος· ἔσχετο δ' ἅλμη
Ἐξαπίνης.

XVI.

NOTE TO PAGE 256, NOTE 1.

Since the above page was printed, Mr. Walpole's volume has appeared, and contains, together with an engraving of the vase referred to in my note, an attempt by Mr. Wilkins to illustrate the question of the subject of the pediments of the Parthenon by means of the figures on the vase. Mr. W. thinks that the subject of the vase was the contest of Neptune and Minerva, and that the marriage of Peleus and Thetis was only an episode. As the engraving is before the public, the reader will decide the question for himself: I shall only beg him previously to refer to the drawing of an ancient monument (in Winckelmann, Monumenti Inediti, No. 110, or in Millin, Gallerie Mythologique, No. 550), which certainly represents the surprising of Thetis by Peleus when asleep, as described by Ovid (Metam. l. 9, fab. 7). In both these ancient designs, Thetis is accompanied by the animals into which she was fabled to have changed herself, and is surrounded by the gods, in whose presence the marriage is said to have taken place[1]. Apollo, who is the most conspicuous figure upon the vase, is particularly mentioned by Homer[2], as having been present. I infer, therefore, that the vase related to the marriage of Peleus and Thetis, and to that subject only. If we may suppose Venus, Peitho, and Cupid to have been present at the contest of Neptune and Mi-

[1] Ovid, ibid. — Coluth. rapt. Hel. v. 20. — Catull. carm. 63, v. 298.

[2] Iliad, Ω. v. 62.

nerva, we cannot so easily account for the presence of the two sea nymphs, Psamathe and Cymo, whose names are also upon the vase; whereas at the marriage of Thetis they were peculiarly appropriate. It is unnecessary to add, that if the vase did not describe the *contest*, it can be of no service in explaining the pediment of the Parthenon further than as furnishing an additional instance of the association of Venus and Peithio in the Athenian mythology. To the other arguments adduced by Mr. Wilkins, in support of the opinion that the western pediment described the *contest*, I have nothing to oppose, more than has already been submitted to the reader in Section VIII.; unless it be to ask one question, If the composition of the western pediment described the *contest*, where was Jupiter, by whom the contest was decided?

XVII.

Note to page 287, note 1.

As it is in his life of Herodes, and in the midst of his description of the Panathenaic stadium of that celebrated Athenian, that Philostratus introduces his account of the manner in which the peplus of Minerva, in the Panathenaic procession, was carried through the city as a sail to a ship, there is reason to think that Herodes was the first to exhibit this pageant. In confirmation, it may be remarked, that the *ship* is not mentioned by any author older than Philostratus; that the contrivance does not seem very consonant with Athenian taste in its purest times; and that there is no appearance of any such custom on the frize of the Parthenon, where the peplus is received by the archon Basileus from the hands of a boy.

VI*.

NOTE TO PAGE 130.

In the royal library at Paris, there is a duplicate of the coin, which represents the north side of the Acropolis, better preserved than that in the British Museum, which is engraved in the beginning of this volume. The Parisian coin, which is annexed, as published by the late M. Millin, conservator of the royal collection, in his Galerie Mythologique, (No. 133.) shows, to the left of the cave of Pan, another cavern, which I take to be meant for the Agraulium. I am inclined to think that the same sanctuary was also intended to be shown upon a marble brought from Athens, by Sir R. Worsley, where six suppliants, with a lamb, are represented standing before a cave, wherein are Cecrops and his three daughters, whose superior stature shows them to be deified persons. In one corner of the sculpture on the outside of the cave Pan is seen, with his pipes and goats' legs. (See Museum Worsleyanum, p. 19.) The smallest and easternmost of the three caverns may possibly have been sacred to Herse.

NOTE III*. TO PAGE 40*.

It appears from Mr. Dodwell's Travels, vol. 1, p. 392, that my conjecture is not correct, as to the statue which filled the third niche of the monument of Philopappus, when that niche was in existence. Mr. Dodwell informs us, that, in the Barbarini library at Rome, there is a manuscript copy of the drawings and observations of Ciriaco d'Ancona, who visited Athens more than two centuries before Spon and Wheler. In one of these drawings, the monument of Philopappus is represented entire with the third statue, and the following words under its niche: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΝΙΚΑΤΩΡ. Philopappus, therefore, who occupied the central niche with his own statue, had placed his grandfather Antiochus, last king of Commagene, on his right hand, and Seleucus Nicator, the founder of the royal dynasty from which he descended, on his left.

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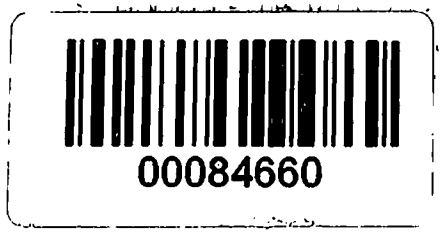
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